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THE REVIVAL OF CHURCH WORSHIP IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND  
FROM DR. ROBERT LEE (1804-67) TO DR. H. J. WOTHERSPOON (1850-1930)

A

THESIS

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### THREE THEOLOGIANS: PREPARATION FOR THE REVIVAL

#### a. Thomas Erskine of Linlathen.

Within the period 1860-1890 changes took place in the public worship of the Church of Scotland. These changes were so revolutionary that many who could recall the Church's form of public worship before 1860 confessed their astonishment at the changes which they had seen. These changes were rapid and extensive, partly because external factors facilitated change. Like most ecclesiastical reforms or revivals, the revival of Church worship in the second half of last century in the Church of Scotland was no sudden growth. There had been much preparing of the soil for a time before the growth began. The initial preparation was done by three Scottish thinkers who wrote primarily on theological, rather than liturgical questions. Yet had they not put forward their teaching, it is difficult to see how the revival of Church worship would have begun when it did, or have developed as it did. These three thinkers were Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, John McLeod Campbell and Edward Irving.

In Thomas Erskine of Linlathen (1788-1870) the Church of Scotland found a critic, the expression of whose theological thought remained unhampered by the censures of her ecclesiastical courts, and whose saintly character commended his teaching to earnest seekers after truth both within and without the Church.

His criticisms were timely, constructive and balanced. Erskine's published works appeared mostly between 1820 and 1830. They created a profound sensation at the time. He taught "the unconditional freeness of the Gospel," rejecting limited Atonement, eternal punishment and the substitutionary theory of the Atonement. More powerful in its effect than his Universalism was his teaching that all Divine punishment is remedial. For Erskine life is not probation but education. "He", he argued, "who waited so long for the formation of a piece of old red sandstone will surely wait with much long-suffering for the perfecting of a human spirit."

At the same time, Erskine expressed a deep sense of the reality of sin and of the need for Divine grace. He admired the Calvinist emphasis on the sovereignty of God and the necessity of prevenient grace, but believed that it based the Double Decree on false exegesis. While he was repelled by Moderatism, he helped to dispel the harshness which sometimes accompanied the Evangelicals' presentation of the Gospel. Men were beginning to be more considerate of their less fortunate brethren. The day of penal reform and active concern for the poorer classes was at hand. Erskine's stress on the universal Fatherhood of God helped to inspire such social concern. It also helped to put out of fashion the stern denunciations of sinners and the lurid depictings of Hell, which once characterized most Evangelical preaching.

The influence of Thomas Erskine upon the form in which evangelical religion was presented, was a factor in the revival of public worship. It has been rightly said that "during the years of party strife, Evangelicals abhorred Moderatism and all its works, rhetoric and belles-lettres included. And so it came to pass that at the time when Thomas Erskine began to think for himself, and to blow upon the dry bones of Scottish theology, the breath of a gracious and reasonable evangelicalism, he immediately arrested the thoughtful classes of his time, not only by the freshness of his ideas, but by the chaste beauty and elevation of his language. It was delightful to Scottish ears to hear one of themselves discourse on 'the Love of God' and 'the Mission of the Incarnate Word,' and on 'the Duty of hearing the Voice of the Spirit,' and handle these important, but at times discredited themes, not only with great earnestness and enlightenment, but with taste and felicity of language that was worthy of Addison or Steele."<sup>1.</sup>

As the century advanced, and the cultured secularism of the Moderates was forgotten, concern over the form of words used in public worship occupied many churchmen of differing theological views. There was widespread agreement that the language of public worship must be dignified, and be truly fitted to the expression of the common worship of the people. Men were greatly concerned with what they deemed "seemly" and "genteel" in public worship. Erskine himself did not advocate liturgical reform.

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1. H. F. Henderson, ERSKINE OF LINLATHEN, p. 43.

/As an Episcopalian who frequently worshipped in Presbyterian churches, he complained of experiencing difficulty in accommodating himself to any one form of Christian worship. "I am inclined," he said once, "to think ~~of~~ that the last and best revision of the liturgy would be to enjoin absolute silence." <sup>1.</sup> But indirectly he prepared the way for more careful attention to the form of public worship in the Church of Scotland.

Erskine's attitude in liturgical matters is not surprising when we remember that he found the authority for faith in the individual conscience. His thinking was influenced by Vinet who taught that the Gospel is believed when it ceases to be external and becomes a fact of our consciousness, and by William Law, who drew Erskine to the mysticism of St. John and the Neo-Platonists, and to the rejection of all that was harsh or arbitrary in the contemporary theology.

For Erskine the Christ of experience explains and confirms the Christ of history. The Christ who appeared in time has always been in man's heart speaking to him by the voice of conscience. All the moments in the history of Christ - the Incarnation, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection and the Ascension - are merely the outward manifestation of an inward experience. The truest incarnation takes place within ourselves. There the Lord of all ages suffers and dies, the Just for the unjust, until He brings us to God.

Here we see a fore shadowing of that emphasis on the religious experience of the individual which was to find expression in/

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1. W. Hanna, LETTERS OF THOMAS ERSKINE, p.457

/in the hymnology and aestheticism of the revival of worship. Once Scottish churchmen ceased to view the Bible as a library of proof texts and the Westminster Confession as a statement of the Faith so final in its logic and Biblical orthodoxy, that its truth must be patent to all God's elect, the way was opened up for a form of public worship which was not pre-eminently an occasion for instruction in the Faith, but which ministered to all the moods of the soul's quest for God.

Emotion, personal devotion, and hymns of a subjective type found full expression in public worship. The day was at hand when "experience of Christ" would be considered more important than adherence to creeds or confessions.

By preaching the universal Fatherhood of God, by stressing the Love of God, and by calling in question the current interpretation of Divine Election, Erskine influenced the ensuing developments in public worship. Men, who were beginning to move away from the Calvinist orthodoxy in which they had been reared, were not slow to rebel against the type of worship which had come to be associated with that theology in Scotland. For Erskine, too, orthodox belief and sanctity of life were the same thing. This teaching found expression in the practical Christianity of the Broad Church school which played an important part in the revival of Church worship. When the essential relation/

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/relation<sup>s</sup> between faith and a good life were stressed as Erskine stressed them, men naturally desired forms of worship in which, through hymn and prayer, through fellowship with other believers, they could express and renew their personal devotion to <sup>their</sup> ~~our~~ Lord, and which would be more closely related to the practical difficulties of daily life, and less didactic, doctrinal, intellectual and abstract.

To the end of his life Erskine held that the Church of Scotland had blundered in condemning McLeod Campbell. "He never ceased to regard it as the stoning by the Church of Scotland of her best prophet, the deliberate rejection of the highest light vouchsafed to her in his time."<sup>1.</sup> Later in the century many within the Church felt ashamed of the Church's conduct towards McLeod Campbell, sharing Erskine's feelings, if not accepting all his opinions. This contributed to the fear of harsh dealing in ecclesiastical cases which was a feature of the Church courts after the Disruption. This leniency furthered the cause of innovations in public worship. It prevented their being dealt with on a strictly legal or doctrinal basis. It partly explains the comparative leniency with which Dr. Robert Lee of Greyfriars', Edinburgh, was dealt with in the General Assembly. The fact that a final judgment in the Greyfriars' case was never given became the charter for future innovators in public worship.

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1. W. Hanna, op. cit., p.523.



b. John McLeod Campbell.

Thomas Erskine found a kindred spirit in John McLeod Campbell (1800-1872), a man of great Christian charity and forbearance, who to the end of his life refrained from harsh criticisms of the Church which had deposed him from her ministry, conscientiously believing that he could never give his allegiance to another Church. Campbell, too, sought to lift his contemporaries out of formality in religion to an inward, spiritual experience of God's Love. "It has," he complained, "become the epidemic disease of the present age that men should find peace in the combination of an orthodox creed with much religious bustle, but heart religion has been long at a low ebb."<sup>1.</sup>

Deciding from the outset of his ministry to join neither the Evangelical nor the Moderate party, he accepted the Bible as the only aid to be used in the preparation of sermons, and as the supreme authority to which direct appeal must be made in all matters of doctrine. "He was soon led to ask himself, not 'What is the doctrine which has the authority of great names?' but rather 'What doctrine agrees best with the Scriptures and the facts of human experience?'"<sup>2.</sup>

At his trial for heresy, while believing that his teaching was consistent with the Westminster CONFESSIOIN rightly interpreted, he/

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1. Donald Campbell, MEMORIALS OF JOHN McLEOD CAMPBELL, vol. 1, p.8

2. Ibid, p.56

/he based his defence in part on this same ground, deprecating his clerical brethren's appeal to the Westminster CONFESSIO<sup>N</sup>, as if they were lawyers appealing to Acts of Parliament. Campbell pled that the Church of Scotland was not created by an Act of Parliament, and that, even if she were an Established Church, she must be free, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit to bring forth from the Word of God "things new and old" for the upbuilding of her people's faith. Campbell appealed to the SCOTS and HELVETIC CONFESSIO<sup>N</sup>S as granting the individual liberty to point out any discrepancy between Scripture and their teaching. "If," he said, "a Confession of Faith were something to stint and stop the Church's growth in light and knowledge and to say 'Thus far and no further,' then a Confession of Faith would be the greatest curse that ever befell a Church. Therefore, I distinctly hold that no minister treats the Confession of Faith aright, if he does not come with it, as a party, to the Word of God, and consent to stand or fall by the Word of God, and to acknowledge no other tribunal in matters of heresy, than the Word of God. In matters of doctrine no lower authority can be recognised than that of God."<sup>1.</sup>

Campbell realised at the time of his trial that his case was testing the Church of Scotland, and so it proved to be. The living Church, he contended, must be able to accept purer teaching when she is confronted with it.

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1. D. Campbell, op. cit., vol. I, p.83.

By his teaching Campbell hastened the breaking up of Calvinist orthodoxy as Scotland had known it. Campbell saw that it was only by understanding better the nature of the Atonement that the Scots could be led into a larger place spiritually. At the same time he realised that teaching on the universality of the Atonement had not been accompanied by a more spiritual insight into its nature,<sup>1.</sup> and that there was danger of the extent of human sin and the necessity of Divine grace being understressed.

For the movement which we are studying, while his teaching that Christ died for all and that assurance is part of salvation prepared the way for certain hymns and anthems which later found their way into public worship, and while his teaching on the universal Love of God greatly influenced a man like Dr. Cameron Lees, one of the early leaders in the revival of public worship, John McLeod Campbell's importance lies in the stand which he made, not without personal suffering, for the principle that the living Church must not be so fettered by any Confession of Faith that she is not free to receive the truth of God more and more fully, as it is made clear to her.

This view came to be accepted by John Caird, R. H. Story, Norman Macleod, John Tulloch and others, who sought to lead the Church of Scotland into a free atmosphere doctrinally. This "Broad/

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1. cf. letter from McLeod Campbell to Erskine of Linlathen, 18. 6. 1847, in D, Campbell, op. cit., vol. I., p.207.

/"Broad Churchmanship" played a large part in the revival of worship, particularly in the development of the Church Service Society. These men were themselves influenced by Campbell, being his friends and admirers. Tulloch's courage was praised in commending Campbell's THE NATURE OF THE ATONEMENT to his students.<sup>1</sup> Norman Macleod said Campbell was the most Christ-like man he knew.<sup>2</sup>

The converse of this relationship between the desire for relaxed subscription to the Church's Standards and innovations in public worship is seen in the attitude of Professor Gibson of the Free Church, the most vehement of all opponents of innovations in worship, who believed that the meaning of Holy Scripture as gathered and set out in the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION was as infallible as he believed Scripture itself to be.<sup>3</sup>

#### c. Edward Irving.

Deposition from the Ministry rededicated Edward Irving (1792-1834) but a more outspoken and urgent critic of the Church's spiritual lethargy. A man of genius, of intense spirituality, Irving's brilliant, sad career was the subject of interest for the rest of the century. Like Erskine and Campbell, like the Tractarians/

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1. D. Campbell, op. cit., vol. I., p.297.  
 2. D. Campbell, op. cit., vol. II., p. 334.  
 3. Ibid, p.114.

/Tractarians, Irving sought to rouse the Church from religious formalism. Whether or not, as Carlyle thought, because of the <sup>1.</sup> astounding success of his early ministry in London, he certainly came to believe that a new dispensation direct from Heaven was about to be inaugurated. In his belief that the Holy Spirit had restored to the Church the Gift of Tongues, in his submission to "The Catholic Apostolic Church," he indicated his belief that the Church must be free from all impediment of polity or dogma to be led by the Holy Spirit.

"Think ye," he asked, "that Abraham took test of God by His dealings with Noah ? or Moses by Abraham ? or the Apostles at Pentecost by the schools of the Prophets in Bethel or in Gilgal ? If we have the Word of the Lord, we have the Word of the Lord and nothing else, and not thou nor I, <sup>NOT</sup> nay, <sup>2.</sup> Paul nor Peter nor Moses, but He of whose fulness they all received.

"I never," he said, "liked the Westminster Assembly and would much rather our Church had never adopted its books," <sup>3.</sup> He much preferred the SCOTS CONFESSIO<sup>N</sup> to the Westminster, and the Apostles' Creed to either. <sup>4.</sup> He objected to matters of Church government being mixed up with doctrine in the Westminster Confession. He disliked the aim of the document - unity by uniformity. "It is really an imposition upon a man's conscience to ask him to subscribe such a minute document: it is also a call/

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1. Thomas Carlyle, REMINISCENCES, vol. I., pp. 235 - 236.
  2. Mrs. Oliphant, LIFE OF EDWARD IRVING, vol. II., p. 333.
  3. Edward Irving, PREFACE TO THE CONFESSIONS OF FAITH AND BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. CL.
  4. Ibid, p. CLIII.

/call upon his previous knowledge of ecclesiastical controversy which very few can honestly answer; and being digested upon a systematic principle, it is rather an exact code of doctrine, than the declaration of a person's faith in a personal God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost. I find it to be a great snare to tender consciences, a great trial to honest men..."<sup>1.</sup>

On the other hand, Irving praised the SCOTS CONFESSION as being written "in an honest, straightforward, manly style, without compliment or flattery, without affectation of logical precision and learned accuracy, as if it came fresh from the hearts of laborious workmen, all the day long busy with the preaching of the truth, and sitting down at night to embody the heart of what was continually taught."<sup>2.</sup>

Irving held that he was expanding the teaching of the SCOTS CONFESSION in his teaching on Christ's Humanity. He valued the Confession for its sacramental teaching. He argued that this document had really directed the Church's thought until 1688, and was really "the pillar of the Reformation Church of Scotland which hath derived little help from the Westminster Confession of Faith."<sup>3.</sup> He maintained that the latter Confession was adopted by the Church only in so far as it did not contradict the former.

Irving's preference for the SCOTS CONFESSION as a true expression/

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1. Ibid, p. CLII.  
 2. Ibid, pp. XCIII - XCIV.  
 3. Edward Irving, op. cit., p. XCIII.

/expression of the theology of the Scottish Reformation, as preferable in its phraseology, and as uncorrupted by English influence was later to be quoted with approbation by leaders in the revival of worship like G. W. Sprott, Thomas Leishman, John Macleod of Govan and Professor James Cooper, when they sought to establish the truly Reformed and Scottish nature of their teaching on public worship, the Sacraments and the Church. 1.

By his teaching on the Incarnation, Irving exercised an influence on the changes in public worship which ensued later in the century. He believed that the Incarnation must be given a central place in theology for practical reasons. He believed that the One-ness of Christ with humanity must predominate in the Church's preaching, because only thus could the estrangement between the soul and God, which he felt typified the cold, formal religion of his time, be broken down.

The century was to witness a tremendous interest in the Human Nature and earthly life of our Lord. This interest expressed itself in "Lives of Jesus," in the quest for the "Historic Jesus," in a Christocentric theology and in the language of popular devotion.

This interest also found expression in Scottish Church worship which became increasingly less afraid of the sensual and the symbolic, and allowed stained glass windows in churches depicting/

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1. See especially G. W. Sprott, THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, pp. 3, 7, 18, 53.

/depicting incidents of Christ's earthly life, hymns relating to the chief events of His Incarnate Life and the observance of the Christian Year.

Before the century closed, especially in the teaching of the Scottish Church Society, within the Church of Scotland, the Church, the Sacraments and public worship were interpreted in terms of a markedly Incarnational theology. The importance of the Ascension was emphasised. The Church was even referred to as an "extension of the Incarnation." The Eucharistic offering was identified with the "Heavenly Sacrifice" wherein Christ, Ascended and Glorified pleads His Death for sinners in the Father's Presence.

Irving held that the discovery of the doctrine of the Sacraments, which is implicit in the SCOTS CONFESSION, revolutionised his own life, although by this time he was already famous. He pointed the way to later writers like John Macleod and H. J. Wotherspoon who sought to find high sacramental doctrine in the Church's Standards. John Macleod was greatly influenced by Irving, and became a "sealed" member of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Dr. Wotherspoon once said that, had the Church of Scotland heeded Irving, she would have had a Catholic revival before the Tractarians had initiated the Oxford Movement. 1.

Irving said that it was the realisation that God's Love in Christ/

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1. Quoted in H. C. Whitley, EDWARD IRVING, AN INTERPRETATION OF HIS LIFE AND THEOLOGICAL TEACHING, p. 227.



/Christ must extend to all baptized that first shook his belief in the doctrine of Election. Here we have the origin of John Macleod's teaching that Baptism is Election and his rejection of any doctrine of Predestination which would exclude the reprobate from any grace in Baptism.

Edward Irving was the spiritual father of that reaction to the prevailing so-called "Zwinglian" view of the Sacraments which characterised the revival of Church worship. Dr. Leishman complained that "the duties of the baptised, as set forth in Question 167 of the LARGER CATECHISM are never enforced from a Scottish pulpit. The line of distinction between the Eucharistic doctrine of Calvin and Zwinglius once so sharply drawn, is all but obliterated, and Calvin does not hold the ground. Edward Irving, in his earlier days, continually dwelt on the Church's declension from her old sacramental doctrine, but it was the voice of one crying in the wilderness, and when it began to sound more discordant notes, men ceased to listen."<sup>1</sup>

Interesting to note is Irving's argument that the local Church must be the supreme authority in matters of doctrine, worship and discipline. This he believed to be the only form of Church life enjoying Scriptural authority. He had harsh things/

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1. T. Leishman, THE RITUAL OF THE CHURCH, p. 413.

/things to say of National Churches, and of Church courts composed of representatives from different congregations. He argued that Presbytery means Kirk Session in the early documents of the Reformed Church in Scotland<sup>1</sup>. This argument was used by Lee, and by <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ defender, Dr. Wallace, in the Greyfriars' case. They contended that matters of public worship should be determined by the local Kirk Session, while others saw a dangerous tendency towards Independency in such a suggestion. As events worked out, by generally not interfering with congregations where innovations in worship had taken place, unless the peace of the congregation had been disturbed, the Presbyteries, without subscribing to Irving's opinions, in some measure put them into practice. Thus the former uniformity of public worship was replaced (until at length practice again became more stable) by considerable divergence and use and wont between one congregation and another.

After the Disruption, when judgement seemed to have fallen on the Established Church, churchmen recalled some of Irving's urgent pleading, and regretted the Church's failure to hearken to the substantial truth of some of his warnings. Later, the Church did heed with profit two of his warnings - the need for better pastoral training for divinity students, and the necessity of ministering to the spiritual needs of the masses. In both these matters the steps taken by the Church involved improvement in her public worship./

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1. cf. Edward Irving, op. cit., pp. CXLII and CXLIII.

/in her public worship.

G. W. Sprott advanced the argument that those who were most opposed to the English Puritan influence in the Church of Scotland supported Irving in his earlier years. He lamented Irving's loss ~~to~~ the Church as the loss of one whose teaching could have led her back to the early Scottish Reformed Church tradition. Thus Irving's name came to be associated with that movement within the Church which sought to purge her worship of Puritan corruptions and denudations. This was one of the key ideas behind the revival of worship. "Alas that," lamented Sprott, "the Irvingite men who would have corrected Zwinglian notions of the Sacraments, and the hard austerities of a Calvinism which is not Calvin's, and restored the authority of the Ministry - alas that Non-Intrusion men, who might have popularised the Church with the masses, were cast out or forsook her bosom."<sup>1.</sup>

Irving's discontent with the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION gathered increasing support as time passed, until, in 1910, it ceased to be a "detailed test of Calvinist orthodoxy and became a historical document."<sup>2.</sup> Even by 1879 it was frankly argued that the Confession was out of date and had already been the cause of enough mischief in the Church. "The Westminster Assembly/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., pp. 53 - 54.

2. G. D. Henderson, THE CLAIMS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 54.

/Assembly inaugurated the intellectual Presbyterianism, which so soon degenerated in England into Unitarianism and in Scotland into Moderatism. These were nothing but the natural outcome of the system, and they have already given sufficient evidence for a return, not merely to the purer system which we have it in our power to find for ourselves in the same source as that which was accessible then, the Bible itself, under the direction of the living Word of God. It has been this intellectual system, as a whole, quite as much as the state relationship included in it, that has been the occasion of all those throes in the history of the Church of Scotland during the time of its existence, in which the spirit was struggling to cast off the depraving influence of the body of its flesh, and by which the body has been so sorely rent asunder... England knows better than to receive again the same intellectual system. She has been for so long trained to knowledge of spiritual truth by her BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER and Scripture Lessons, that she knows well the difference between the intellectual and the spiritual things of God. During the same time Scotland was suffering from the effects of the intellect of man being substituted for his spiritual consciousness in the things of the Church of Christ. The Bible was very generally laid aside in public, and it was not read in Church service. The prayers were human compositions, stereotyped by their authors, and as formal in their structure as if they had formed parts of a liturgy. They consisted of

addresses to the people, while being addressed to God. And the sermon, which was outwardly based upon a text of Scripture, consisted of a moral essay, inculcating human virtues, and urging men to work of self-righteousness either for time or eternity. These essays, at the same time, were so few in number, and so often repeated in the ears of the audiences, as to travel round a very narrow circle of ideas, and effectually to prevent anything like freedom of thought in the population, or anything like stings of conscience. And although the outward discipline of the Church was most stringently enforced, it could have no real effect in checking prevailing moral evils." <sup>1.</sup>

In 1880, one writer in SCOTCH SERMONS claimed that "as creeds are only the reflection of the thought of the ages which gave them birth, we should be ready to modify and change them with <sup>the</sup> growth of theological thought and with the advancement of scientific discovery." <sup>2.</sup>

Liturgy is a confession of faith. A changing creed consciously or unconsciously demands a changing form of worship for its expression. Those who led the way in altering the form of the Church's worship, also stood for theological freedom. They turned from a rigid allegiance to the details of the WESTMINSTER/

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1. W. T. Kerr, THE RESTORATION OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, pp.24-26.  
 2. Quoted in G. D. Henderson, op. cit., p. 54.

/WESTMINSTER CONFESSIO<sup>n</sup>. They likewise turned away from the predominantly intellectual type of public worship which had long in Scotland been associated with the theology<sup>of</sup> that Confession, and which was largely inspired by it.

Among those who advocated liturgical reform in the Church, some were theologically conservative - leaders such as Sprott, Leishman and John Macleod. They took as their standards the early documents of the Reformed Church in Scotland. They appealed to the faith and practice of the Reformed Churches of the Continent and to the early Church.

Others were more liberal theologically. Men like Lee, Tulloch, R. H. Story and A. K. H. Boyd believed that the Church must press on to a fuller grasp, and to a clearer expression of the truth as it is in Christ. They showed a bias towards the tenet that practical goodness is more important than orthodox exactitude.

Rooted in the soil of theological reaction the movement for reform of the Church's public worship grew almost inevitably.

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SECTION 2PUBLIC WORSHIP IN THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AFTER 1843a. The Disruption

The Disruption inevitably caused the Church of Scotland to examine her public worship in a critical light.

After 1847 she had as rivals two strong Presbyterian Churches - the Free and United Presbyterian Churches, also a growing Episcopal Church. Men were free to choose which they would attend. They frequently advanced strong reasons for their preference. Even within the same parish there could be considerable competition between the ministers of the Establishment and of Dissent in preaching and praying prowess. Some within the Church of Scotland began to see that improvement in the conduct of public worship was essential, if the Church was to retain the people's loyalty. These views soon found forcible expression in the writings of Robert Lee and G. W. Sprott.<sup>1.</sup>

The Free Church turned a singularly critical eye, and loosed a bitter tongue, upon the Church of Scotland. Norman Macleod admitted that the Establishment had lost her best clergy, but/

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1. R. Lee, THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND; G. W. Sprott, THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

/but he rightly argued that it was harder to remain than to leave the Church for conscience's sake. <sup>1.</sup> R. H. Story has recorded how much disappointment and misrepresentation his father's adherence to the Establishment meant. <sup>2.</sup> Popular enthusiasm and influential patrons supported the Free Church, but the work of restoring the breach was attended by no glamour, but rather involved hard names, misrepresentation and a feeling that those who now ridiculed from without were the cause of the trouble within. The Establishment was faced with no easy task in filling all the vacant parishes. <sup>3.</sup> Some of the new presentees were of poor quality. Norman Macleod complained that a few of them were more concerned with wall-paper for the manse drawing-room, and with fiars' prices, than with the restoration of the Church. <sup>4.</sup> Standards were lowered. Able ministers found many charges waiting to call them.

It is not surprising that the Church began to search about for "aids" or "ministers' directories" for the conduct of public worship, especially as other factors contributed to the tendency, as we shall see later. The Establishment rallied/

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1. D. Macleod, MEMOIR OF NORMAN MACLEOD, p. 121.
  2. R. H. Story, LIFE OF ROBERT STORY, pp. 255 - 327.
  3. cf. Dr. McMurtrie's remarks, Church Service Society Report, 1902, p.8.
  4. D, Macleod, op. cit., p. 149.



/rallied around the concept of "National Recognition Religion." She saw her calling to be that of custodian of the historic Christian witness of the Reformed Church in Scotland. She saw her task to be that of providing Christian ordinances of a truly Reformed and traditionally Scottish character throughout the land.

In Dr. Chalmers' "people's church provided by the people for the people" the congregation chose its own minister. The congregational loyalty readily centred in the minister. Individual congregations were leagued together by loyalty to a common set of principles. A common attitude and a mutual enthusiasm bound together pastor and flock.

In the Establishment, the minister was more of an official, the representative of an institution, whose roots were firmly planted in the past, within which the pastoral office, which he now exercised, had been carried on by successive generations of ministers. Loyalty was to the Kirk rather than to the minister, allegiance was to the institution rather than to a set of opinions.

Not un-naturally, ministers who were presentees, who were carrying on the work of the Church in their generation, rather than making a stand against abuse, sought by their prayers and preaching to present the Church's traditional attitude to faith and worship. They did not require to keep their congregation together by intense conviction, or by their pulpit gifts, to the same extent as was necessary among their dissenting brethren.

Thus, while a Free Church congregation throve on the piety and pulpit gifts of its minister, and every scope was offered for making congregational worship the expression of an individual minister's devotional attitude, the Church of Scotland talked increasingly of providing services which would be an expression of her best traditions, recognisably services of the Establishment, and suited to the needs of the people of the land. She soon # began to endeavour to raise the general standard in public worship. Dr. Sprott maintained that those who had most liked the Puritan corruptions of Scottish Reformed worship were Non-Intrusionists, who had left at the Disruption, thus leaving the way now clearer for the restoration of the best features of post-Reformation worship in Scotland.<sup>1</sup> As it happened, there were still many within the Church who clung to the Puritan innovations as something essentially Scottish and Presbyterian (this was abundantly seen in the Greyfriars' case and later), but doubtless changes in worship would have been much more difficult to introduce, had not the narrower Evangelicals left at the Disruption. The denunciations, which greeted these changes in the worship of the Establishment, from Free Church leaders such as Candlish, Begg and Gibson are proof of this. The organ controversy in the Free Church is an indication of the difficulties which the Church of Scotland might have encountered, had there been no Disruption. Free Churchmen tended to see these changes in public worship as "innovations"/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 3.

/"innovations", the fruits of unfaithfulness at the Disruption, and the signs of the downward career of the Establishment towards latitudinarianism.<sup>1.</sup>

The Church of Scotland, moreover, came to see that toleration might pay. If there had been no Free Church she would unquestionably have been slower to permit any innovations in her worship. The fear of another split in the Church was a main factor in the comparative leniency with which Dr. Lee's case was handled in the General Assembly. Later, at the time of the Robertson Smith trials, some felt that, by her wider tolerance, the Church of Scotland might win recruits from among the Dissenters. During the "Scotch Sermons" case in the General Assembly of 1881, Dr. Cunningham urged toleration upon the Establishment in these terms: "it was said there had been no deposition for heresy within the Church of Scotland within the last forty years, It was a proud thing to be able to say that: and when they went beyond these forty years they found that of the depositions which had taken place, the Church of Scotland was heartily ashamed. Never was a policy more successful than that of toleration, and was the present Assembly going to reverse it at this particular crisis in theology and theological history of our country ? If they did/

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1. See Debate on Innovations, Glasgow F. C. Presbytery, reported in "The Daily Review," 18th and 19th December, 1865.

/did so, it would be a most disastrous day for the Church of Scotland. If they gave a decision in a just and generous spirit, they would attract to them thousands of men, who were seeking for a refuge and resting place."<sup>1</sup>

Leaders like Tulloch, Norman Macleod and R. H. Story stood for tolerance, broad sympathies and enlightened progress. The Church's willingness to borrow Methodist hymns and Anglican stained glass was part of the same tolerance. The Free Church was kept to her "principles" by Candlish, Cunningham and Begg.

The disestablishment activities of the Dissenters rendered the Church of Scotland more than ever concerned with dignified worship, particularly with the appropriate liturgical expression of the National Religion. When the disestablishment campaign was at its height, the Church Service Society was publishing orders of service for state occasions, and the Scottish Church Society was claiming that the Church of Scotland was the guardian of Reformed and Catholic Worship. The fact that the Free Church considered herself a 'model' church constitutionally, and believed the eyes of the whole Protestant world were on her controversy with the state,<sup>2</sup> furthered that self-comparison with the Continental Reformed Churches on the part of the Church of Scotland which included a comparison of their respective modes of conducting public worship. The question was asked "Why is the Church of/

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1. Quoted in H. F. Henderson, THE RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSIES OF SCOTLAND, pp. 197 - 198.
  2. A. Beith, THE SCOTTISH CHURCH IN HER RELATIONS TO OTHER CHURCHES AT HOME AND ABROAD (1869), p. 39.

/of Scotland the only national Church which has no liturgy ? " The fear lest the Dissenters might unite to overthrow the Establishment furthered that tendency, already growing for other reasons, for the Church of Scotland to look for friendship and co-operation to the Church of England, and to wish for better relationships between the two National Churches. Some even spoke in terms of a united Church for the British Empire, involving a mutual recognition of Presbyterian and Anglican Orders.

The position taken up by the "Middle Party," or "The Forty," at the Disruption exercised a most important influence upon the development of Church worship. Matthew Leishman, the leader of the party, a friend of Edward Irving, exercised a personal influence upon some who were to be leaders in the revival of Church worship - Sprott, Lang, A. K. H. Boyd and his own son Thomas Leishman. He encouraged the editing of KNOX'S LITURGY and THE DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP by Sprott and Thomas Leishman,<sup>1.</sup> a volume which did much to direct the whole course of the revival. Lawrence Lockhart, brother of Scott's biographer, was also a member of the "Middle Party." He was one of the first to perceive the need for reform in the worship of the Church, if<sup>2.</sup> young people were to be held within her pale.

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1. J. F. Leishman, MATTHEW LEISHMAN OF GOVAN, p. 206.

2. Ibid, p. 122.

The chief contribution made by this party to liturgical reform was their aversion to ecclesiastical controversy, their stressing of the sin of schism, their stand by a "high" view of the Sacraments, the Ministry and the Church. Matthew Leishman argued that such views had never died out in the Church of Scotland, despite Puritan interference, and the clash between Moderate and Evangelical, which had suppressed them. Now that the Disruption had terminated the Moderate-Evangelical controversy, the Church was open to a new lead, which would give expression to deeper, more spiritual, more historically accurate teaching on the Church, the Ministry and the Sacraments.

In the course of time the reform of Church worship made a great contribution by preparing the way for an "ecumenical frame of mind" within the National Church. This was foreshadowed in Matthew Leishman's sorrow over schism, his loyalty to a Reformed Catholicism, and his advocacy of public worship which was dignified, yet simple and pure.

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b. National Religion.

After the Disruption, the recovery of the Established Church was helped by Queen Victoria's participation in her worship, and by her friendship with some of her leaders. Nor had many of the Scottish lairds forsaken her at the Disruption.

These facts gave support to the Church's claim to be the National Church - a claim now pressed urgently, since the Church now ministered to about only half of Scotland's church people. Whatever charges of Erastianism or latitudinarianism might be made against her, the Church was determined to remain faithful to her heritage.

Under the leadership of John Tulloch, she took her stand by the principle of National Religion. "We cannot," said Tulloch, "give up the principle of National Religion...That the Lord whom we serve is Head and King of Nations as well as of Churches, and a National Church is the only true expression of the homage which nations owe to the Supreme Head."<sup>1</sup>

John Macleod, James Cooper, H. J. Wotherspoon and others were later to contend for the state recognition of religion as a Divine principle. The concept of National Religion was an important/

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1. Quoted in G. D. Henderson, THE CLAIMS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 156.

/important factor in the movement for reform of public worship.

As the Church regained her strength, she busied herself with Church Extension, the care of the poor and social work among all classes. She saw herself as "an institution in which the Christian life may be developed, rather than a body of already sanctified persons."<sup>1.</sup>

She was at pains to distinguish between herself and the Dissenters. She claimed to be the Church of Christ, Catholic and Reformed, in Scotland. "Our own Scottish Reformers," wrote Sprott, "spoke of the kirk as the 'Universal Kirke,' by which they meant the Catholic Church as reformed; and whatever some of John Knox's professed followers may do nowadays, most assuredly he would not have taken such a step as to propose a resolution of congratulation and the thanksgiving on the success which had attended some effort to break up the religion of his country, and to quarry Christians out of the Reformed Church."<sup>2.</sup>

"If," said a preacher in 1863, "you examine the history, and reflect upon the structure, the laws, the discipline and character of our National Church, you will rejoice in your national inheritance."<sup>3.</sup>

This concern with the National Recognition of Religion influenced/

1. G. D. Henderson, op. cit., p. 155.

2. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 2.

3. J. Macrae, SERMON PREACHED AT THE OPENING OF HOPEKIRK PARISH CHURCH, p. 14.



/influenced the reform of church worship in three ways:

1. The Church of Scotland, as part of the Catholic Church was, it was reasoned, at liberty to borrow from the liturgical literature of Christendom in order to enrich her public worship.

This argument was advanced by Lee and Sprott.<sup>1.</sup> Mention was made of it in the "aims" of the Church Service Society: "Every clergyman in a church, which, like ours, is a branch of the Church Catholic, is at liberty to use whatever in the recorded devotions of that Church he finds most suitable to his own congregation's need, thus laying under contribution the prayers of the faithful in all divisions of the Catholic Church, and thus being gathered not into a formal manual of devotion, but into a great magazine of prayers."<sup>2.</sup>

2. There grew up a "National Church" consciousness which spoke critically of English interference in Scottish religious affairs. In particular the influence exercised by the English Puritans upon the Church's worship was deplored.

"To our shame, it must be said, that we had to be indebted to strangers from England for the instrumentality by which, in the course of last century, true spiritual life began to flow into the dead organism of our Church,"<sup>3.</sup> said one/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 5.  
 2. Quoted in J. Kerr, THE RENASCENCE OF WORSHIP, pp. 13 - 14.  
 3. W. T. Kerr, op. cit., p. 32.

/one of Wesley and Whitefield.

"Deference to Anglicanism," wrote Sprott, "in the Church of Scotland is a crime. In some few things she might approximate to Episcopal usages, but it should only be on the very few points where they may be closer to the primitive and the Reformed Church than her present practice. Anything more would be inexpedient and sinful."<sup>1.</sup>

Sprott and Leishman stood for the principle that changes in the Church's worship must not be mere importations from Anglicanism, but must be based on the practice of the early Scottish Reformed Church, or the Reformed Churches of the Continent.

At the same time, it was recognised that to introduce even a partial liturgy, or to revise and re-issue Knox's Liturgy, or indeed to alter customs which were not part of the true Scottish tradition, but which were established by long use and wont, would probably mean the loss of more communicants, and the widening of the gulf between the Establishment and Dissent.<sup>2.</sup>

The belief, however, that the staunchest supporters of Puritanism were now in the Free Church, encouraged the hope that/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 53.

2. Ibid, p. 4.

/that some purging of alien influences in the Church's worship might be achieved amicably in time. This desire to undo what Puritanism had done was one of the most powerful motives underlying the whole movement for reform in public worship. Its influence was felt throughout the whole period which we are studying.

"It is," said Sprott, in a pamphlet which more than any other single document inspired the movement which followed, "to be regretted that English Puritanism has had so great an influence upon Scotland... It did not well harmonise with the first century of the Scottish Reformation. It has never been acceptable to the great body of the Established clergy; not certainly to the Moderates of last century; not to the party who sympathised at the first with Edward Irving, and who longed with him to fall back upon the older articles; not to the Church now... Puritanism has ever since been felt by many Scottish churchmen as a foreign yoke in some respects hard to bear, and as a bar between them and their own national and more churchly heritage... It has made the Church less churchly than it was for the greater part of a century after the Reformation, or than any other Reformed Churches are now. Our old Scottish liturgy almost exactly corresponds with the Church books of the Reformed Churches on the Continent. The semi-liturgical Westminster Directory is very far from equalling this as a clergyman's guide-book; and, unfortunately, the practice of clergymen is generally much below even the standard of the Directory." <sup>1.</sup>

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., pp. 3 - 4.

3. The concern of the Church of Scotland over her position as the National Church involved a desire to keep her own church members in the Colonies from the corruption of Anglicising influences. Sprott called upon the Church to give a steadfast witness to Reformed traditions in the Colonies. Norman Macleod and others visited North America to strengthen Scots, who had been disturbed by the Disruption, in their loyalty to the traditions of their fathers.

It was in the Colonies that the Church's barren worship, her lack of set forms for the sacramental, marriage, and burial services was seen to most disadvantage. It was from the Colonies that the strongest impetus to begin reforming the Church's worship first came.

Dr. Sprott's pamphlet "The Worship, Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of Scotland," written while he was a colonial chaplain, expressed some of the difficulties of Presbyterian worship in the Colonies. "Family Prayers," the first book of prayers authorised by the General Assembly since the adoption of the Westminster Directory, sought to cater for the needs of people separated from Presbyterian ordinances. Indeed, until the 1914 - 18 war, no new book of prayers, which could be used during, or as a substitute/

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/substitute for, public worship, enjoyed the Church's official sanction, save publications for troops and Scots abroad, who might be isolated from the worship of the Scottish Church.

The Church gave her attention to reform of worship in order to strengthen her position as the National Church.

Lee, the most daring advocate of such reform, believed "that the National Church' no longer satisfies the religious tastes and other demands of the population, and is gradually losing the character of a 'National Church'." <sup>1.</sup>

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1. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 39.

c. Objective Worship

As an indirect result of the Disruption a conviction grew in the minds of some within the Establishment that public worship should be objective.

An act of public worship should normally include the main items of the Christian Faith, and the chief experiences of the Christian soul—adoration, confession, supplication, praise, ~~+~~ ~~#~~ thanksgiving and intercession. By the amount of liberty allowed in the conduct of worship, the Church had long laid a heavy responsibility upon the individual minister. n/

The Directory had never been rigidly enforced, and there were many deviations from it. Despite the uniformity of use and wont throughout the Church, from parish to parish the idiosyncracies, the personality, the prejudices and predilections of the parish minister caused the content, and to a lesser degree the form, of public worship to vary.

The disadvantages of a form of worship, where so much was left to the discretion of the minister who was conducting it, became more manifest after the Disruption, when public worship was sometimes under the direction of men who were not conspicuous for either their ability or piety, when many of the more fastidious and genteel were leaving the Establishment for the growing and fashionable Episcopal Church.

Within the Church of Scotland an antipathy to public worship which was too individualistic and subjective, soon found expression./

/expression.

Worship, it was felt, must not depend upon "Mr X's" wonderful gift of prayer, or "Mr Y's" lack of it. Probationers should receive proper pastoral training; liturgies should be studied; every effort should be made to make the Church's prayers truly corporate and objective. A party grew up within the Church of Scotland which wished to make public prayer more formal, better ordered and balanced, and less individualistic. In adopting these views they hoped to distinguish themselves from the Dissenters. "We must," urged Lee, "do something to distinguish us from the Dissenters."

The demand for a more objective type of public worship is heard repeatedly throughout the movement which we are studying.

At the outset of the movement, Lee wrote: "In all cases of public and family worship, we must never forget that the speaker supplies a form of words for those who join with him in the exercise; whether he extemporise, or repeat what he has prepared, or read it from a manuscript or a book - in all these cases alike the spoken prayer is a form to the congregation. This is evident. The question is - and it is here the only question - whether the generality of ministers, or rather ministers universally, should be considered competent to produce, without writing them, without preparation, or if they so please, without one moment's previous study or consideration, a whole public service for hundreds or thousands of people - and that from week to week and from year to year? Whether the stupidest/

/stupidest, rawest, least learned and accomplished stripling whom any Presbytery may have licensed to preach, or on whose head they have laid their hands, shall be esteemed qualified to produce six public prayers each Sunday out of his own mind on the spur of the moment; and also to extemporise, as the occasions recur, services for baptism, for marriage and for the celebration of the most solemn rite of the Christian Church - the Lord's Supper? Those who expect that such services, produced in this way, should be what they ought, must at least have conceived a very low idea of what is required."<sup>1.</sup>

At the close of our period of study, H. J. Wotherspoon discussing what theory of common prayer should guide the Church's devotions, wrote that according to one conception of common prayer, "the minister has an individuality: he is magnetic, or even he is dynamic, or he is spiritual, or he is sympathetic, or poetic or he has a message; and prayer is one opportunity of making himself and his message felt. I venture to think that this conception is accurately the contradictory of the principles which should guide us. In our office we should forget self, die to self, be dead and out of the way... This ministry of the Church of Scotland is in its claim a ministry of the Church Catholic: each in his place is the representative of that tremendous corporation; set there, representative of the Body of Christ, and of the whole ministry to/

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1. R. Lee, op. cit., pp. 71 - 72.



/to which pastorate is entrusted; to bear its witness and to pray with this people, its prayer to God. There are, of course, occasions and matters special to place and time, and our unfixed service gives room for them. But such emergent occasions are, as we all know, a very small element in the course of worship. There is not often pestilence, nor always storm. But always God is God and man is man, and sin is sin, and Christ is Saviour,, and always Saviour from the same terrible flesh and world and devil, and always in the face of the same tremendous death and awful judgement. Our common prayers, I submit, should move in, and rest on, these great universals.<sup>1.</sup>"

The fact that the Church of Scotland continued to be the National Church facilitated the introduction of better ordered, more formal and less subjective and individualistic worship. There were occasions when the Church was called upon to conduct "official" services in burghs and cities, when, as the Church of the land, she had to speak for the people of Scotland, and had to lead all classes of the people in corporate worship before God.

The Church's worship continued in many places to be as individualistic as that of the other Scottish Presbyterian Churches were accused of being, but, in connection with services on special occasions, and in the sacramental and marriage services/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon, WHAT HAPPENED AT PENTECOST, pp. 162 - 164.

/services,, more formal and less personal worship crept in. There came soon to be certain congregations in which more objective worship became the accepted rule. In time the type of worship offered in these churches greatly influenced the worship of the entire Church. This is particularly true of the form of worship established in St. Giles' Cathedral under Dr. Cameron Lees.

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SECTION 3SECESSIONS TO EPISCOPACY: CRITICISMS OF PRESBYTERIAN WORSHIPa. The Growth of the Scottish Episcopal Church and the Tractarian Revival.

Since 1690 Presbyterians in Scotland had generally evinced a marked antipathy to any mode of worship, which could be identified even mistakenly, with the worship of the Book of Common Prayer. When after 1838 the Scottish Episcopal Church entered upon a period of rapid growth, and Presbyterians were attracted to her fold, chiefly on account of her form of worship, indignation and alarm seized many within the Church of Scotland. Lee, R. H. Story, Sprott and others saw in these developments an urgent reason for the immediate reform of public worship in the Church of Scotland. Matters were made more urgent and serious by the High Church claims which the Tractarian Movement soon inspired, or revived, within the Scottish Episcopal Church.

The Duke of Argyll, in a letter refuting the Tractarian claims, mentioned the fact that Scots were being attracted to the Episcopal Church, not for doctrinal reasons, but for liturgical and aesthetic reasons. He pled that the time was ripe for improvement in Presbyterian worship.<sup>1.</sup> Lee developed this argument<sup>2.</sup> in his book, and Sprott in his pamphlet brought in fresh evidence<sup>3.</sup> from the Colonies to bear on the question.

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1. Duke of Argyll, PRESBYTERY EXAMINED, p. 299.

2. R. Lee, THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, part I, Chapters V-VI.

3. G.W.Sprott, THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

The facts confirm that the Church of Scotland, already weakened by the Disruption, and fighting her way to recovery, which when it came, men said they had not thought possible, was in no strong position to survive any further serious weakening of her position.

In 1838 an important General Synod of the Scottish Episcopal Church revised the Code of Canons. This Synod also decided that the title "Protestant" should be dropped, that the surplice should be worn, and that the Scottish Communion Office should be used at the opening of Synods and at the consecration of Bishops. Sanction was given to form "The Scottish Episcopal Church Society," whose aims were to "provide a fund for aged and infirm clergymen or salaries for their assistants and general aid for congregations struggling with pecuniary difficulties; to assist candidates for the ministry in completing their studies; to provide Episcopalian schoolmasters, books and tracts for the poor; and to assist in the formation and enlargement of diocesan libraries."<sup>1</sup>

1838 marked the beginning of a remarkable period of extending influence on the part of Scottish Episcopacy. Between 1838 and 1858 the congregations grew from 73 to 150, and the number of clergy increased from 78 to 163. Church membership was estimated at/

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1. F. Goldie, A SHORT HISTORY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN SCOTLAND, p.85.  
 2. Ibid, pp. 88 and 124.

/at 60,000 in 1870, 116,000 in 1900, and 147,000 in 1921.<sup>1.</sup>

The Oxford Movement was a big factor in this revival. The church at Jedburgh, at whose consecration Keble officiated, the colleges at Glenalmond and Cumbrae, and the cathedral at Perth, where the use of incense was first restored, were all closely associated with the Tractarians.

At Dundee, Bishop Forbes taught quietly the High Church doctrines which roused such hostility in England, but had always had some acknowledgement in the Scottish Episcopal Church. New churches, mostly in the Gothic style, gave concrete expression to the revival of Catholicism and emphasised the centrality of Eucharistic worship.

In 1864 Parliament removed the disqualification of Scottish Episcopal clergy from officiating, or holding a benefice, in England. In 1866 the Archbishop of Canterbury, laying the foundation stone of the Episcopal cathedral at Inverness, was pleased to say that he was "animated by a desire for union and communion with the Scottish Episcopal Church, the only true representative of the Church of England in Scotland."<sup>2.</sup>

The Church of Scotland did not relish the closer relations which were growing up between the Church of England and Scottish Episcopacy. Still less could she tolerate the claim of some Episcopalians/

1. Ibid, pp. 88 and 124.

2. Quoted in W. Perry, THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN SCOTLAND, p. 87.

/Episcopalians that their Church was the "Scottish Church."

Nor did the Scottish Episcopal Church fail to reckon the probable gain she might reap from the disestablishment of the National Church. "When," wrote Bishop Jermyn of Brechin, "Disestablishment came, it would, they should remember, make an enormous difference to the Church in this country."<sup>1.</sup>

The Bishops in the House of Lords were blamed for using their influence "to undermine and supplant and destroy our whole Presbyterian system... they know that here in Scotland there is an Episcopal body, with standards the creation of Laud, with a Communion Office borrowed from Rome, which exalts the Sacraments above the preaching of the Gospel, who, not contented with free toleration, are carried on with furious zeal to plan and war for the downfall of the National Church."<sup>2.</sup>

"We cannot," wrote Lee, "disguise from ourselves the painful fact, that the Kirk at this moment maintains its position, as the Church of the law, by the sufferance of the English Church; which, with the eager co-operation of the Dissenters, could at once disestablish it."<sup>3.</sup> Resentment was added to a sense of insecurity by the bold utterance of some within the Anglican Communion, who held that the Church of Scotland was an heretical and schismatic body. "Episcopacy is now very generally regarded by the Anglican clergy/

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1. Quoted in J. Begg, THE COVENANTING STRUGGLE, (1876), pp. 15 - 16.  
 2. J. Macrae, ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE SYNOD OF MERSE AND TEVIOTDALE, 11. 10. 1864, p. 29.  
 3. Lee, op. cit., p. 39.

/clergy as of divine authority; so that no society is indeed a Christian Church which repudiates the three orders of the Priesthood, or at least the Episcopal order."<sup>1.</sup>

The memory of harsh dealing in heresy trials in the not too distant past, the restless discontent of liberally minded theologians under confessional restraints which were found too narrow the disgust of some with the intolerance of Dissent, the weariness of others with ecclesiastical controversy within Presbyterianism, all created uneasiness lest Anglicanism should prove too inviting a refuge for increasing numbers from the Church of Scotland.

"Such men persuade themselves that soon, if not already, the Anglican Church will afford the only refuge for those, whether laity or clergy, who are not prepared to give themselves up to absolute mental servitude, but are resolved to vindicate for themselves some freedom of inquiry and speech in theological doctrines; and who consider that a National Church should be comprehensive and liberal in its constitution; that it should brand nothing as heresy except a denial of someone of those very few points which constitute the foundation and essence of the Christian Religion,<sup>2.</sup> as taught in the New Testament,"

After his deposition McLeod Campbell was often urged to enter the Anglican ministry. Matthew Leishman confessed, in describing his grief over the Disruption, "My mind is so utterly replenished with/

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1. Ibid., p. 41.

2. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 43.

/with disgust that really I could wend my way into the English Communion were the door thither opened without requiring Ordination over again."<sup>1.</sup>

At this time the reform of the worship within the Church of Scotland was deeply influenced by the perception that most who left her fold for Episcopacy were men and women of the upper ranks of society, and that they were attracted thither mainly by externals - church buildings, forms of service and the genteel and refined tone of the Episcopal set-up.

Many did join the Scottish Episcopal Church between 1845<sup>2.</sup> and 1865. It was the fashionable thing to do, especially important for those who were "getting up" in the world, the frequent consequence of an English public school or university education. Losses among the landed proprietors were particularly serious for the Church of Scotland, for it meant the loss of potential leaders, and a further widening of the gulf separating the gentry from the country people.

Lee was probably right in contending that the form of worship prevailing within the Church of Scotland was the chief cause of such secession. In the 1850 - 1860 period, considerable interest began to be shown in liturgical matters. The Greyfriars' case evinced/

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1. J. F. Leishman, op. cit., p. 119.

2. W. Perry, op. cit., pp. 49 - 50.



/evinced much popular support for Lee. The question of worship reform was discussed at length in the Press.<sup>1</sup> Many were ready for change. Once the first opposition was over, certain innovations, such as organs, hymns and stained glass, prose psalms and anthems made comparatively rapid headway.

Sensing the changing taste in public worship, Lee was bold enough to write in 1864: "It is the business of the Church to provide that everywhere, in even the remotest parishes, and among the humblest and most illiterate of the population, the public worship shall be distinguished by good taste, decency, propriety and solemnity, as well as purity in doctrine and fervour of devotion; that it shall be comprehensive, and as far as possible complete in its several parts, omitting nothing that is essential to the idea of public Christian worship on the one hand, while on the other it avoids redundancy and tediousness, doctrinal exaggeration, fanatical vehemence and enthusiastic raptures, and everything else that is inconsistent with sober piety and godly wisdom. No Church is rightly constituted or well conducted in which the most educated and refined of its members may not worship in any of its congregations without meeting what shall disgust and offend him."<sup>2</sup>

Some argued that, although the Scottish Episcopal Church had at heart sympathised with the Tractarian teaching, long before the dawn/

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1. Lee, op. cit., pp. 49 - 50.

2. Lee, op. cit., pp. 47 - 48.

/dawn of the Oxford Movement, recognition of that Movement was long delayed by Scottish Episcopalians, especially in southern Scotland, in order that the cultured Presbyterians who were turning to Episcopacy might be held by the "quiet beauty of the Prayer Book services" in contrast to the dreary services of the Established Church, and not be frightened off by doctrine which they would mistake for "Popery."<sup>1</sup>

At first, within the Episcopal Church, the improvement in worship which the Oxford Movement inspired, was more readily welcomed in the south than in the north of Scotland, while the opposite was true of the Movement's doctrinal teaching.

Lee asserted that some of the converts to Episcopacy were uneasy in their consciences, because they had gone over for aesthetic, rather than for doctrinal reasons. Norman Macleod saw that the High Church doctrine might check the flow of converts. He thought that "Puseyism", which treats us all as heathen, and will tend to disgust, "might prove a check on the rapid spread of Episcopacy" which he felt was coming. He gave ~~four~~ <sup>five</sup> reasons why he believed the Episcopal Church would grow in Scotland: December, 1841 - "I am much mistaken in the signs of the times, if an episcopal era is not near for Scotland's ecclesiastical/

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1. W. Perry, op. cit., pp. 37 - 39. cf. Lee, op. cit., pp. 55 - 56.

/ecclesiastical history. To form an Episcopalian Church, quoad spiritualia, we have, first, the old and respectable and unchanged Episcopalian families of Scotland. Second, the lovers of fashion more than lovers of God - the families who spend a portion of their time in London, and who like a "gentlemanly religion." Third, the rich merchants, who wish to wear the new polish, and to look like old state furniture; who, by buying country houses, by marrying into good families, by getting hold of property with an old title, and by joining an old form of worship, labour to persuade the world that they have never sold timber or sugar since they supplied the Ark with these commodities. Fourth, the meek and pious souls who love to eat their bread in peace, and who, weary of the turmoil in our Church, flee to the peace of the Church of England, which seems to reflect the unchangeableness of the Church invisible. Fifth, the red-hot Tories, who fly from disgust at the radicalism of our Church."<sup>1</sup> Within the Church of Scotland the popularity of Scottish Episcopacy increased embarrassment at the state of public worship.

Accordingly, the remedy was tried of introducing a mild imitation of Episcopalian worship, in the hope that the malcontents, especially among the "upper classes," would remain within the Established Church. In 1863 Sprott said that since the Disruption<sup>2</sup> there had been a tendency to imitate Episcopalian usages. In the General/

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1. D. Macleod, op. cit., p. 99.

2. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 49.

/General Assembly of 1865 Norman Macleod defended innovations in worship, not as efforts to make the Church of Scotland conform to Episcopacy, but as means of keeping back her people from it.<sup>1.</sup>

Lee, an ecclesiastical statesman, the friend of many cultured and influential people, seized upon this policy as a means of strengthening the Church of Scotland. Lee's critics within his own denomination were quick to denounce him as playing at Episcopacy.

The first motive for reform of worship within the Church of Scotland was chiefly aesthetic - the desire to make her services less offensive, more attractive, in order to strengthen the Church's position as the National Church.

Until the later 1880's, the influence of the Oxford Movement on the Church's worship was largely aesthetic. It inspired concern over a fair form of words, a taste for Gothic architecture, the development of sacred music and the acquisition of more ornate church furnishings. The Scottish Church Society, founded in 1892, may be considered the Oxford Movement of Scotland. By that time there were some within the Church of Scotland who realised that too many of the "improvements" which had been effected in the Church's worship were but "patches on an old garment." They saw that a defective public worship was a result, not a cause. They believed that a return to Catholic and Evangelical Truth could alone/

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1. cf. "Scotsman," 25. 5. 1865.

/alone provide a right basis for fitting, Christian worship.

Apart, however, from its aesthetic influence in the earlier years of the revival of church worship, the Oxford Movement influenced the Church of Scotland by way of reaction. The Tractarian claims regarding apostolic succession and sacramental grace were fiercely resisted. As a result, scholars such as Thomas Leishman and G. W. Sprott took up the defence of their Church's position.

As the Baptismal Regeneration and Eucharistic Sacrifice controversies developed in the Scottish Episcopal Church, Scottish Presbyterians were roused to clarify their own attitude in these matters. This influenced the framing and conducting of Sacramental Services in the Church of Scotland. Increasingly, the Church of Scotland sought to make her worship truly representative of Primitive and Reformed churchmanship.

"I have horror of Puseyism," admitted Norman Macleod in 1839, "...thank God for our Scottish Reformers... I do think the Church of Scotland, from her doctrine, worship, etc., is of all churches the best fitted to grapple with the spirit of the age."<sup>1.</sup>

"We open the doors of our pulpits to pious and orthodox ministers of all Protestant denominations; do Episcopalians ? We esteem many Episcopalian churches to be the churches of Christ, and pray for them as such; do Episcopalians return the compliment ? "<sup>2.</sup>  
asked/

†. D. Macleod, op. cit., p. 87.

2. R. Burns, TRUTH AND LOVE v. PRELACY AND THE PRAYER-BOOK (1840)



/asked Dr. Burns in the heat of the controversy at Paisley, which arose when an Episcopal clergyman was forbidden to read prayers from the Book of Common Prayer in a Church of Scotland pulpit.

Lee, too, dealt unsparingly with the high claims and uncharitable attitude of High Anglicans concerning the National Church.<sup>1.</sup> He found particularly offensive the suggestion that Presbyterians lacked the essentials which would justify their being included in the Catholic Church.

Sprott went further. He consistently and continuously sought to build up a strongly defended position for the Church of Scotland, as the true representative of the Catholic Church in Scotland. He held that she was more faithful to Primitive Faith and Practice than was Anglicanism. He answered the Anglican claims one by one with regard to the threefold Ministry, the Sacraments, postures at worship and the form and content of the Anglican Burial and Marriage Services.<sup>2.</sup>

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1. cf. Lee, op. cit., Chapter VI.

2. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., pp. 28, 33, 43, 46 - 47, 49f.

b. The Growing Consciousness that the weakest point in the Church of Scotland is her public Worship.

After about 1855 the Church's public worship came frequently under severe criticism. The Church found such criticism being expressed even by some of her most devoted children. A certain smarting sense of injustice lay behind much of this criticism. Many felt that the worst features of contemporary public worship had been foisted upon the Church of Scotland by English Puritans. Many argued that the Church was being cheated of her legitimate liturgical inheritance. Lee felt that the Church's present form of public worship was a greater stumbling block than patronage in the way of the Church's popularity with the people.

R. H. Story later summed up this criticism in these words: " the slovenly innovations which were degrading the Church's worship, and which were begotten of carelessness or irreverence, or want of any recognised authority, were allowed to make their way unchallenged, until, towards the close of the eighteenth century, the public services of the Church of Scotland had become probably the baldest and rudest in Christendom. The parish kirks, owing to the niggardliness of the heritors, were comfortless and coarsely furnished; the music was rough and untrained; only in a few of the town churches was it rendered with any attempt at taste/

/taste or skill. The Bible was scarcely read. The prayers were reduced in number to two at the most, and were drearily long and uninteresting. The Lord's Prayer was never heard. The sermon was the great feature of the service; and it was often a "screed" of dull doctrine or of cold morality."<sup>1.</sup> "What," it was asked, "if the tedium and perfunctoriness of your pulpit form a plea for those who prefer the natural flowers and sunshine to such speech of divine things as you address to them?"<sup>2.</sup>

In 1857 John Smith, M. D., Edinburgh, addressed a letter to Rev. Dr. Crawford, the convener of the General Assembly's Committee on Aids to Devotion, urging the early preparation of a devotional manual for Presbyterians who were isolated from the services of the Church. The writer pointed out that "all classes of our people, from want of such a volume, have no alternative but to make use of the English Prayer Book; and although there is no doubt that, from getting accustomed to its use, many, particularly the young, are led to join the Episcopal Church, still we may be thankful that there is such a book to have recourse to."<sup>3.</sup>

Dr. Smith drew up a summary of what he thought such a manual should include.<sup>4.</sup> In his letter Dr. Smith stressed the importance of reading Holy Scripture as an essential part of public worship (this/

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1. R. H. Story, THE REFORMED RITUAL IN SCOTLAND, p. 36.
  2. W. Smith, FAREWELL SERMON, PREACHED IN ROXBURGH FREE CHURCH, EDINBURGH, 19. 10. 1862.
  3. For Dr. Smith's letter see A. R. Bonar, PRESBYTERIAN LITURGIES, pp. 53 - 58.
  4. See A. R. Bonar, op. cit., p. 58.



/(this had been the subject of legislation by the General Assembly of 1856.) He also pled for improved psalmody, and for the teaching of sound sacramental doctrine.

In 1857 Dr. Lee began his innovations at Greyfriars', giving expression in a constructive way to the current criticism of public worship. In the same year he published his book of prayers for public worship. In 1858 Rev. A. R. Bonar published his "PRESEBYTERIAN LITURGIES WITH SPECIMENS OF FORMS OF PRAYER FOR WORSHIP AS USED IN THE CONTINENTAL, REFORMED, AND AMERICAN CHURCHES; WITH THE DIRECTORY FOR THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD AGREED UPON BY THE ASSEMBLY OF DIVINES AT WESTMINSTER; AND FORMS FOR ORDINARY AND COMMUNION SABBATHS, AND FOR OTHER SERVICES OF THE CHURCH." This writer says "A variety of circumstances lead us to think, that the question regarding the propriety of using, to a certain extent, set forms of prayer in public worship - for the sake not only of avoiding those sins against good taste, and those burlesques of worship with which we are too frequently scandalised, is worthy of being entertained. That the employment of such forms is unpresbyterian, is an objection wholly grounded on ignorance... the objection of formality is equally unfounded. The publically offered prayers of every minister, unless he adhere to an almost stereotyped arrangement of thoughts and phrases, must be a form to his congregation. If they are varied, this part of the service frequently becomes an exercise of intellect on his part/~~and~~

/an effort of fixed attention - not very favourable to the calmness of chastened devotion on theirs." <sup>1.</sup> The writer urged that Luther and Calvin both prepared liturgies, and that Calvin clearly meant the fixed portions of his to be rigidly adhered to. He urged that the Church of Scotland should provide set forms for the Sacraments and also for Marriage.

Rev. A. R. Bonar's volume also gives us an interesting contemporary account of Dr. Lee's innovations ~~in~~ at Greyfriars'. "An experiment has lately been tried in Edinburgh respecting the method of celebrating public worship, which, if not interfered with by the Church judicatories, as after a considerable period it has not been, may lead to important consequences. Dr. Robert Lee, on the re-opening of Old Greyfriars' Church, is said to have deviated to a somewhat startling extent from the accustomed manner amongst us of conducting the public worship of God in the sanctuary. Very plain and ungainly the ancient building of Greyfriars' was, nor has its exterior been susceptible of any considerable measure of improvement. With more or less taste, every window has been filled with stained glass, to an extent, we confess, that suggests the idea almost of a religious toy. There are memorial windows, commemorative of various eminent individuals, most of whom ministered within the building - through which a dim religious light penetrates upon what is considered to be one/

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1. A. R. Bonar, op. cit., pp. 6 - 7.

/one of the more knowing and philosophical congregations in our city. The galleries have been removed, and the pulpit has vanished - a platform of no great height, running instead along the east end of the church, which platform might bear, with little alteration, no small resemblance to an altar. The pews are so constructed, that if hassocks be placed in them, there is no hindrance to kneeling; while the elders have places arranged for them in front of the minister, and the choir have their place assigned behind the congregation, who, we must further mention, are understood to stand while the singing proceeds. Nor is this the whole amount of alteration, if rumour be correct. The worship is conducted according to what is understood by the minister to be the spirit of the Directory of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. The clergyman is said to read the prayers out of a book, and the people are alleged to be invited at the close of each branch of the petitions, to give their response, thus audibly expressing their concurrence with what has been uttered; while the service in the forenoon is also alleged to be almost wholly devotional - consisting of prayer, singing and the reading off two chapters of Scripture, with merely a running commentary, and a few interjected remarks - the sermon, which hitherto occupied so very prominent a place at each 'diet' of Scottish worship, being reserved for the afternoon."

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1. A. R. Bonar, op. cit., pp. 3 - 4.

As early as 1851 a pamphlet had appeared lamenting the fact that many were being driven from the Church Of Scotland to Episcopacy by the unattractive worship of Presbyterianism. It complained of the lack of uniformity in the worship of the Establishment. It regretted that English interference had fostered the anti-liturgical bias of the Scots.<sup>1</sup> R. H. Story has given us a caricature of the worship of the Church of Scotland in the 1850 - 60 period.<sup>2</sup> It includes the often reiterated complaints as to the undue length of the sermon, the untrained congregational praise, and the long, extemporary prayers, defective in content as in form.

Lee's THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, and Sprott's THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND supplied this current criticism with a reasoned self-defence. Both complained of the Church's departure from the better Scottish traditions in public worship, of the lack of uniformity, of the defective sacramental teaching then prevailing, and of the loss of many to Episcopacy on account of the Church's deplorable public worship. Both argued that real prayers were permissible in public worship, and, in part at least, desirable, within/

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1. SCATTERED SHEEP AND HOW TO UNITE THEM, quoted by R. H. Story, Life and Remains of Robert Lee, Vol. I., pp. 136 - 137.
  2. R. H. Story, op. cit., Vol. I., pp. 327 - 330.

/within the constitution of the Church. Both were convinced that the Church's witness at home and abroad was greatly impaired in effectiveness by the prevailing form of public worship. Lee quoted Calvin as ridiculing the minister who thinks that he can extemporise a liturgy.<sup>1</sup> Sprott deprecated the tendencies shown by the more recently published "Ministers' Directories" and "Liturgies," and urged that the Primitive Church and the Reformed liturgies were preferable as models.<sup>2</sup>

A great part of the criticism was directed against the conventional type of public prayer. Pulpit prayers were criticised for their length; their dullness;<sup>3</sup> their taking the form of addresses to the congregation;<sup>4</sup> their unsuitability for corporate worship;<sup>5</sup> their employment of unsuitable language and of misquotations;<sup>6</sup> their becoming readily stereotyped, although nominally extemporary.<sup>7</sup>

Apparently, the conscientious minister, all too often, devoted most of his Sabbath labours to teaching and preaching. "I used at Row," wrote McLeod Campbell, "when my Sunday work was done, always to write before going to bed a short account of the day's/

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1. Speech in the General Assembly, 1865.
  2. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., pp. 19 and 42.
  3. cf. W. R. Pirie, THE USE OF INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN PUBLIC WORSHIP, p. 9.
  4. Lee, op. cit., p. 14.
  5. Ibid, p. 71.
  6. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., pp. 4 - 5. Lee, op. cit., p. 76.
  7. Lee, op. cit., p. 76.

/day's sermons to my beloved father and the work to which this was added was at one time: a ride to Row (2 miles); an hour in the Sunday School at Row; 2 hours' forenoon service, 2 afternoon; a ride to Helensburgh (2 miles); 2 hours in the Sunday School there; a ride home to Shandon (4 miles); and even the school time was very much exhortation and exposition." <sup>1.</sup>

Clerical ideas of brevity were then seemingly outrageous. When Edward Irving begged Dr. Chalmers to allow him to read the Scripture lesson (with exposition) at the opening of his new church in London, at which Dr. Chalmers was to preach, he said "I can be short" - by which he meant one hour and forty minutes. <sup>2.</sup> "Presbyterian sermons of those days - 1850 - 1860 - were a disciplinary trial whereof the present generation has little experience... altogether the service in Mochrum Kirk occupied fully three hours. As I was reckoned a delicate boy, I used to be allowed to leave after the first discourse, and walk home. Oh, the unspeakable sense of freedom in escaping from the stuffy kirk into the sunshine... and dawdling home among the birds and flowers. The length, the tedium, and to a small boy's understanding, the incomprehensibility of these sermons, and also the length and frequency of the services to which I was taken whenever we/

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1. D. Campbell, op. cit., Vol. I., p. 253.

2. Quoted by H. F. Henderson, op. cit., pp. 116 - 117.

/we were within reach of an Irvingite Church, may be considered, I trust, a palliation of some neglect of public worship in later years."<sup>1.</sup>

The advocates of reform in public worship believed that, while the educated and cultured classes were offended by the Church's form of worship, the "lower ranks" of society showed little taste for its long, abstract discourses and stereotyped, dreary prayers. In the large cities there were multitudes who had cut themselves off from public worship. Lee tried out a series of services for working men with some success.<sup>2.</sup> Norman Macleod confessed, as a result of having tried to teach some of his humbler parishioners, that Presbyterianism had not sufficiently valued symbols, and had forgotten how much men are taught by the visible.<sup>3.</sup>

The congregations also came under the fire of current criticism. They were blamed for lack of reverence, for unseemly conduct during public worship. They did not suitably compose themselves for worship before the commencement of the service; they were often inattentive and restless during it; at its conclusion, the Benediction was the signal for a competitive stampede to reach the exit first.

Norman Macleod has recorded his impressions of the lack of reverence/

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1. H. Maxwell of Monreith, EVENING MEMORIES, pp. 13 - 15.  
 2. R. H. Story, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 29.  
 3. D. Macleod, op. cit., p. 93.

/reverence in St. Giles' at the opening service of the General Assembly in 1843.<sup>1.</sup> In the General Assembly of 1876, it was argued in the Duns Innovations Case that the Duns congregation should be kindly treated, as, unlike so many others, its members engaged in private devotion at the beginning of the service, and left the church reverently at its conclusion.<sup>2.</sup>

Sheriff Tait complained to the General Assembly in 1858 that prayer did not have the place it should in the Church of Scotland, and alleged that many country churches were but preaching stations, in which the people stood gazing about during the prayers.<sup>3.</sup>

The new postures advocated by Lee and others were commended as furthering reverence among the worshippers. "It is, I believe, in consequence of the fatiguing nature of the posture which is now assumed in prayer, that the painful spectacle is so universally presented in our churches, of the congregations lounging lazily over the backs of the pews - not standing upright with closed eyes and reverent demeanour, but shifting from foot to foot, and seeking relief in the most easy attitude which can be combined with anything like an upright posture. And this is the case even when the prayers are shortest."<sup>4.</sup>

Already the General Assembly was directing its attention to the/

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1. Ibid. p. 132.
  2. "Scotsman," 24. 5. 1876.
  3. "Scotsman," 1. 6. 1858.
  4. J. H. Tait, LETTER TO THE PARISHIONERS OF ABERLADY, Nov. 1866.



/the improvement of church praise. It had enjoined upon all present in church to join in the singing of the psalms in a "grave and melodious manner."<sup>1.</sup>

Sheriff Tait alleged that the "singing of the Psalms is regarded by the great majority of our congregations more as a pause or rest than as an act of worship."<sup>2.</sup>

The customary mode of administering the Lord's Supper at successive Tables, which entailed much exhortation and a long day of services, was criticised as overthrowing the nature of the Sacrament and as hindering its more frequent celebration.

The often unsavoury accompaniments of the Fast Day were soon to be used as an argument for its abolition.<sup>3.</sup>

An article on "John Knox's Liturgy" had, as early as 1852, asserted "the pear is not ripe, but we believe it is ripening."<sup>4.</sup> This article advocated the adoption of a prayer book by the Church, suggesting that there should be four or eight orders of service with room for free prayer after the sermon. In each order the same congregational responses were to appear. The writer lamented that Scotland was now as ignorant of Reformed liturgies as it was of ancient. He urged Scottish churchmen to look to the Reformers rather than to the Covenanters as their guides. He rightly judged that to raise these proposals in the General/

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1. REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INNOVATIONS, 1864; Recommendation, 4.  
 2. Ibid, p. 3.  
 3. cf. R. H. Story, ON FAST DAYS, pp. 22 - 26.  
 4. "John Knox's Liturgy," Edinburgh Review, April, 1852.

/General Assembly would be to bring down upon one's head a torrent of abuse, and might alienate, rather than win support. The proceedings in the Greyfriars' case were soon to confirm this prediction.

c. The predominance of the Didactic Element in Public Worship

There was now heard within the Church of Scotland a criticism of her public worship which Leishman was later to express thus: "The undue prominence given to preaching had cast out other parts of the service, or made them mere variations of rhetorical display."<sup>1</sup> Certainly the main emphasis in the Divine Service was placed on the sermon. The great object in coming to Church was to hear the Word. Instruction which led to saving faith and obedience was more important than a pleasing form of words, which pandered to the new-fangled aestheticism of some, and persuaded them that it must be acceptable "worship" also in the sight of God. Sincerity of heart was held to be more important than smoothness of form.

Thus worshippers spoke unblushingly of "going to sermon," when they meant "going to worship," of the Holy Communion as "the preachings," and of going to hear their minister, when they meant attending public worship in their parish church.

Leishman finds an explanation of this disproportionate esteem of the sermon in comparison with the other parts of the service by pointing out how at one time the Reader read the liturgy and lessons, while his superior, the minister, preached.<sup>1</sup> But the real/

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1. T. Leishman, op. cit., p. 426.

/real explanation lies in the Reformed Theology which underlies the service with its emphasis on instruction in, and obedience to, the Word, with its high regard of preaching the Word as the fundamental function of the Ministry.

To upset the balance in the service still further, the Lecture had, in the course of time, taken the place of reading the Bible in church. Normally, no attention was paid to the Christian Year. A minister was free to preach on the same text for months. The Evangelicals had begun the practice of writing new sermons, and although congregations did not hear the same sermons with the same regularity, the main topics of Christian doctrine were included in most sermons.

Lee complained that in the preparation of worship the clergy concentrated on their sermons to the neglect of their devotions.<sup>1</sup> He complained that their prayers were often "dry, didactic discourses... bad sermons addressed to God."<sup>2</sup>

Certainly, in the celebration of the Lord's Supper according to the established mode, the predominance of preaching in public worship reached a climax. Where there were many communicants, a circuit of the clock was sometimes completed before the worship ended. Each group of communicants, as they took their places at the Table, were addressed before and after communicating, although the minister/

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1. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 75.

2. Ibid, p. 14.

/minister had been in the pulpit for some two hours before the administration of Holy Communion began. When all had communicated, the minister of the parish addressed all the communicants, then followed an address of thanksgiving from another minister. An example of the type of addresses still being given at the middle of last century will be found in PRESBYTERIAN LITURGIES by Rev. A. R. Bonar. (1857)

Complaint as to the place which preaching had "usurped" in worship came to be linked with the plea that the people must be given more part in the service. The denial of a responsive part in worship to the people was held to be a grave defect in KNOX'S LITURGY. Congregational praise was said to be no substitute for a vocal part in the prayers.

A. K. H. Boyd has recorded his recollection of the worship before the revival of worship began in the Church of Scotland: "The eloquent and 'impressive prayer,' at which the congregation gaped in wonder, really not thinking of joining it: the 'most eloquent prayer ever addressed to a Boston audience' (and a very awful reflection is that it was addressed to a Boston audience): is dead and gone. 'A most eloquent address,' was the chief criticism of an English duke, when an eminent Scotch preacher had ministered at a funeral: it had never occurred to him that the address was a prayer. And we all remember how the petitions, though spoken to the Almighty, were spoken at the congregation: and conveyed information, or reproof or the speaker's views upon matters political and religious, and his low estimate of such as ventured to think otherwise." <sup>1.</sup>

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1. A. K. H. Boyd, ST. ANDREWS AND ELSEWHERE, pp. 196 - 197.

d. The Frequent Lack of Order and Uniformity in Public Worship.

Lee made much of the lack of order and uniformity, which he declared existed in the Church's public worship in his time. He accused the clergy of following no reasonable plan or order in their public prayers.<sup>1.</sup> The Church Service Society, when it was formed, set itself to introduce a certain order and uniformity into public prayer, without destroying the privilege of free prayer. "Possibly in the course of time, while public prayer will still remain essentially free and unfettered, there may grow up a certain unity of form and of arrangement, and a certain fullness and richness of expression, which at present are too rarely found: and the people may be trained thereby to join more intelligently and reverently in the act of prayer."<sup>2.</sup>

J. G. Lockhart complained that the Church's prayers were "long, dreary, dreamy, wandering, threadless discourses."<sup>3.</sup>

Sprott asserts that most ministers followed Gerard's advice, when, mentioning adoration, confession and petition as the different parts of prayer, he adds that there is no necessity for keeping them distinct, and says that it is better to intermix them through the whole prayer.<sup>4.</sup> He thinks too, that Gerard was closely/

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1. "Scotsman," 15. 3. 1867.

2. Report adopted by the Church Service Society, 31. 3. 1865, pp. 2 - 3.

3. Quoted in G. D. Henderson, THE CLAIMS OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 185.

4. G. W. Sprott, THE PUBLIC PRAYERS OF YESTERDAY.

/closely followed in his advice that every part of public prayer ought to be expressed as much as possible in the language of Scripture, but he adds "the texts were often misquoted, amplified and mixed up together, and in this form they were repeated, not only by ministers, but after them by schoolmasters and heads of families, and handed down from one generation to another."<sup>1</sup>

A chief cause of the alleged lack of order and uniformity in the worship of the Church was the fact that, apart from Scripture, the Church in practice had no universally recognised and applied rule, liturgy, or directory to which appeal could be made. The natural and peaceful development of public worship in Scotland after the Reformation had been interrupted by the course of political events, and diverted by alien influences. KNOX'S LITURGY had fallen into disuse, and the DIRECTORY had never been rigidly enforced. At the present time, the prevailing use and wont was in defiance of the DIRECTORY's regulations. There was, shortly, in the Greyfriars' case, to arise an acute discussion as to whether the DIRECTORY did or did not permit the use of read prayer in public worship. Some doubted if the DIRECTORY was legally binding on the Church, as it is not specifically mentioned in the Act of Parliament of 1693.

There was, moreover, in the Church of Scotland, a strong body of opinion which was opposed to any fixed order, let alone form, /

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1. Ibid.

/form, of public worship being made binding upon the Church.

Even in 1894, this feeling was strong enough to sway the General Assembly in the discussion on the Report of a special Committee on Public Worship.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, even without the use of a printed liturgy, the uniformity was excessive. As late as 1905, a worshipper complained, "I attended for years the ministrations of a worthy clergyman, who, from the first Sunday in January to the last in December, repeated verbatim the same prayers without the change of one syllable."

On the other hand, the spiritual quality of the worship conducted by some clergy, fully compensated for any lack of "order and uniformity." To hear Norman Macleod pray was to be ushered into the presence of the Divine. To see Robert Story ~~pr~~<sup>pr</sup>/Roseneath dispensing Holy Communion was an unforgettable spiritual experience.

When innovations in public worship commenced, both those who opposed, and those who defended the innovations, pled that they sought a necessary "order and uniformity" in the Church's worship.

For the first group, this meant "purity and simplicity" of worship, with forms of service in general agreement with the spirit of the DIRECTORY. For the second group, this meant an agreed order/

1. REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE PROPER CONDUCT OF PUBLIC WORSHIP, AND THE CELEBRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.
2. J. D. Dalrymple, quoted in C. S. S. Report, 1905, p. 28.



/order of worship, especially <sup>for</sup> ~~with~~ the conduct of the Sacraments and Occasional Services, with a general level of polish and dignity, of appropriateness of thought and language in public devotion.

As it happened, the revival of worship, in the first decades of its influence, was to bring greater diversity, not greater uniformity in public worship.

SECTION 4PUBLIC WORSHIP AND THE CONTEMPORARY ENVIRONMENTa. Public Worship in the Church of Scotland Compared with that of Other Churches: Awakened Interest in Reformed Liturgies.

Several factors caused the Church of Scotland at this time to compare her public worship with that of other Churches. These comparisons strengthened, if they did not actually create, the urge to reform her own worship.

Such comparison was practically forced on the Scots in the British Colonies. They felt obliged to ask themselves why the form of worship which they knew at home, whose restrictions they sought to maintain abroad, should differ from that of the influential Anglican Church. Then, in order to justify that difference, they came to view themselves as the representatives of the Reformed Church in the British Empire. Such an attitude inspired these Scots with the ambition to see that their Church's worship was truly representative of the best Reformed tradition.

We see this line of thought worked out fully in G. W. Sprött's THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, which was published in 1863, and which was written while Sprött was a chaplain in Ceylon. The son of a Scottish minister in Canada, Sprött wrote out of the fullness of his own experience.

The growth of the Scottish Episcopal Church at home, and more frequent contacts with Church life in England fostered comparison in Scottish minds between Presbyterian and Episcopalian public worship. For most Scots, ministers and people alike, Presbyterian worship long continued to be viewed as "pure and Scriptural," while that of Episcopacy was condemned as "sensuous and idolatrous." An inveterate intolerance of the ways of Episcopacy lingered long. "Go to the Bishop of Brechin, officiating at Dundee, and he will, com amore, show you the interior of his chapel - the stained glass window of notable dimensions, on which are painted a crown of thorns; a lamb carrying a cross; a mitre and other ecclesiastical symbols, etc., etc.; also an elevated altar, protected by a railing in front, with a purple silk covering, on which are sewed a cross, and the letters I H S; a credence table; a table of prothesis; a little reading desk, turned to the altar... all this the Bishop will show you, seemingly unaware of the paganism, and Popery, and folly of parading such trifles in a place professedly sacred to the spiritual worship of God." <sup>1.</sup>

This description, written before the revival of worship in the Church of Scotland had begun, represents a train of thought which expressed itself forcibly in the various Innovations Cases in the Church courts which were to follow, and which inspired criticism/

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1. "A Scot," THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND AND ITS BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, 1849, pp. 101 - 102.

/criticism of the Church Service Society and the Scottish Church Society for many years. For a smaller group in the Church Of Scotland, comparison meant not self-congratulation, but self-criticism. They saw the glaring defects in their Church's worship, when they viewed it in the light of that of other Churches.

"I look," confessed Tulloch, "upon the Church of England with all its defects, as the most gloriously constituted Church in the world. I look upon that Church as set for the defence of the faith."<sup>1</sup> In the same speech in the Assembly, he said that he found that he could worship in other communions; and therefore to him some of the innovations, so much dreaded by others, did not seem important. He continued: "A more Catholic spirit is growing up in the Church which seeks to unite itself with the broader action of Christendom throughout the world. Are we to stand isolated and do nothing? Do we not recognise that there is a vast influence at work in Christendom leavening the world, and are we to stand isolated from that and claim that we are pure and independent, in a way that no other Church is?"<sup>2</sup> On the same occasion, he reasoned that one could not oppose spirituality and sensuality as readily as some did. He instanced the gorgeous worship of the Old Testament, which had been instituted by/

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1. "Scotsman," 24. 5. 1865.

2. "Scotsman," 24. 5. 1865.

/by God Himself.

Sprott recalled later how ~~hw~~ he visited Edinburgh in 1864 at a time when "the clergy of Edinburgh were opposing with all their might and main the innovations that were being introduced. At that time, I found a number of Army and Navy people who had gone rpond the world ~~good~~ Presbyterians - but who had given it up when they returned home,, as they could not stand the services and had gone elsewhere,, and I heard on good authority that Episcopacy had doubled during the ten years previous." <sup>1.</sup> # #

The Scottish Church's refusal to hold a service at the <sup>2.</sup> grave in burial drove some to Episcopacy. "The Marriage Service," wrote Sprott in 1863, "as ~~per~~formed in Scotland, is evidently considered by many of the higher classes belonging to the Church as unsatisfactory. This is plain from the fact that so many of them pass by their own parish clergyman and call in Episcopalian dissenters.. People whose fathers and mothers forty years ago would as soon have thought of applying to the Pope as to anybody but a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, now have recourse to an Episcopal parson in Edinburgh or in the county town, thus dishonouring their own clergyman and the Church of their country. I suppose this is partly because marriage in church / #

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1. Church Service Society Report, 1904, pp. 33 - 34.  
 2. Ibid.

/church is the fashion." 1.

The Church's refusal to give Holy Communion privately to the sick proved a test of loyalty to some. One minister said he saw this tension "when told by some how, notwithstanding altho their ardent desire to receive the Sacrament, they had steadily refused it when offered by persons of the Episcopal Communion, saying 'If I am to receive it, my own minister will give it me.'" 2.

"Little," said Sprott, "do the Presbyterian demagogues, who in some cases have succeeded the stately and scholarly old Moderates, imagine how ignorant they are of the currents of the upper world, or how they disgust people more elevated than themselves. Such men are destroying Presbyterianism, though they fancy themselves its champions - or would destroy it, were it not indestructible." 3.

Some ministers of the Church of Scotland began to incorporate excerpts from the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER in their pulpit prayers. 4. The plea began to be heard in the Church, "If we are to have a liturgy, give us the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER." 5.

The public worship of the Church of Scotland was also compared with that of other Reformed Churches. KNOX'S LITURGY was/

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1. G. W. Sprott, THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 44.
  2. J. Miller, COMMUNION FOR THE SICK ON CERTAIN CONDITIONS SHOWN TO BE SCRIPTURAL AND PRESBYTERIAN, pp. 11 - 12.
  3. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., pp. 44 - 45.
  4. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 15.
  5. cf. remarks by Dr. Veitch, "Scotsman," 27. 4. 1859.

/was held to be inferior to some other Reformed liturgies. Its great defect for some was its denial to the people of a real part in the service.<sup>1.</sup> The revived interest in the liturgies of the Reformed tradition led Lee to compare the Church's worship with the liturgical ideals of Luther and Calvin, while Sprott made frequent comparisons with the worship of the Reformed Churches of Holland and America. Departure from monthly Communion was deplored.<sup>2.</sup> The glory of the Genevan service was held to be its combination of liturgical and free prayer.<sup>3.</sup>

Some of these comparisons were inspired by the wave of interest in liturgical study which swept the English-speaking peoples at the time. Several publications had directed attention to Scotland to the Reformed Church liturgical tradition. Dr. Cumming's edition of KNOX'S LITURGY (1840)<sup>4.</sup> in its preface dealt with many points which were later taken up by the revival of worship - standing to sing, kneeling to pray, the use of organs in church, shorter opening prayers at the Divine Service and the use of the Lord's Prayer. Cumming pointed out that it was a modern misconception which thought that the Reformers stood as much for a total rejection of a liturgy as did the Covenanters. He advocated a re-use of KNOX'S LITURGY, or else a strict enjoining of the DIRECTORY'S regulations. One wonders/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 39.

2. Ibid.

3. "Edinburgh Review," January, 1861: CHURCH EXPANSION AND LITURGICAL REVISION.

4. J. Cumming, THE LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND OR JOHN KNOX'S BOOK OF COMMON ORDER.

/wonders if Cumming, who was a minister in London, was not influenced in his views by having to maintain Presbyterian worship in Anglican surroundings, This could also be said of Sprott.

An article by Professor Lorimer on KNOX'S LITURGY appeared in 1852,<sup>1.</sup> which was later published under the title A NATIONAL CHURCH DEMANDS A LITURGY.<sup>2.</sup> This pointed out that the Church of Scotland, as a National Church, stood alone in the Reformed tradition in having no liturgy, and that her present antipathy to liturgical forms was out of sympathy with the ideals of the Scottish Reformers. In 1848 the Duke of Argyll, reasoning that the prevailing type of worship in the Established Church was the cause of secessions to Scottish Episcopacy, advocated the partial use of liturgical forms to which the Reformers had no objection.<sup>3.</sup>

EUTAXIA, OR THE PRESBYTERIAN LITURGIES, which was published in New York in 1855, was reviewed by Sprott in Scotland in 1856,<sup>4.</sup> who said "What a contrast between these prayers of Calvin, and the ungrammatical, unprayerful exhibitions which are sometimes heard in the pulpit... the prayers of many betray an utter want of preparation, and even of active thought at the time of their utterance, as is evident from the almost absurd phrases which have become stereotyped forms."<sup>5.</sup>

In 1857 an article on SOME FURTHER TALK ABOUT SCOTCH AFFAIRS<sup>6.</sup> appeared,/

1. In "Edinburgh Review," April, 1852.
2. G. W. Sprott, EUCHOLOGION, 1905, p. xiv.
3. PRESBYTERY EXAMINED, p. 299f.
4. In "Edinburgh Christian Magazine," Aug.-Sept. 1856.
5. Ibid, p. 146.
6. In "Frazer's Magazine," July, 1857.



/appeared, which asserted "If you should happen to converse with the ablest, and most cultivated of the Scotch clergy, you would find that the wish for a liturgy is deeply felt, and almost universal."<sup>1</sup>

The writer wished that some "clever and accomplished young Oxford and Cambridge men" could be induced by <sup>the</sup> attractive emoluments of the Scottish Church, to come north and minister there, for, he claimed, "the majority of the Scotch clergy are drawn from the lower ranks of society, and many of them terrify, by their coarse appearance, their clownish address, and their entire lack of that undefinable, but keenly felt quality which marks the gentleman... I am grieved to see here (in the General Assembly), great loutish boors bursting out into horse-laughter, apparently desirous of putting their hands and feet into their pockets, who ought never to have been in the Church."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Also, in 1858 the minister of the Canongate, Edinburgh published PRESBYTERIAN LITURGIES WITH SPECIMEN FORMS OF PRAYER FOR WORSHIP, AS USED IN THE CONTINENTAL REFORMED AND AMERICAN CHURCHES. This book, while not wishing to revive the use of KNOX'S LITURGY, and fully realising how unwelcome read prayers would be to the majority of the members of the Church of Scotland, argued that read prayers are not "un-presbyterian," and set before the reader specimen forms adopted by Continental and/

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1. Ibid, p. 9.  
 2. Ibid, p. 12.  
 3. A. R. Bonar.

/and American Presbyterian Churches.

This comparison of the worship of the Church of Scotland with that of other Churches was the result of a broadening outlook among the Scottish people. In creating this, the experience of the Scot abroad was the chief factor. The low ebb which public worship as a form had reached was felt most acutely in the Colonies.<sup>1.</sup> As early as 1829 Dr. Burns, of St. John's, New Brunswick, in his book of prayers, stated in the preface that while the prayers were intended for the use of lonely settlers, separated from the Church's worship, "there was nothing in the DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP, which condemned their use even by accredited functionaries of the Church in the devotional exercises of the sanctuary."<sup>2.</sup>

Living along with Anglicans, the Scot abroad was often cut off from his Church, where there was no resident minister. He had not even a prayer-book to provide a link with the worship of his own people. The defects in Scottish worship seemed magnified when that worship was celebrated out of its native environment. Sprott confessed that, "On the arrival of new clergymen in the Colonies, I confess I have often felt more anxious that they should conduct the devotional service well than preach well... Our people abroad, and the higher classes at home are all familiar with the decency and good taste of the English Liturgy, and they feel/

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1. cf. J. Kerr, op. cit., p. 8.

2. Quoted in J. Kerr, op. cit., p. 9.

/feel uncomfortable if these qualities are wanting in the services of their own Church.<sup>1.</sup>

Travel abroad broadened the outlook of some, whose domicile remained at home. Critics of innovations in worship spoke of such persons sarcastically : "Among us, there is, I think, a small party rather too genteel to be admirers of almost anything that is purely Scottish, and who would prefer the assimilation of all indicative of our nationality to the notions which they have picked up on their travels."<sup>2.</sup>

Study took promising students abroad. John Cairns began the pilgrimage of Scottish students to German universities. Norman Macleod had learned to take a broad view of ecclesiastical controversy, because travel in England and in Germany had revealed to him noble types of Christianity under conditions widely different from those which were pronounced essential for the existence of the Church at home.<sup>3.</sup> He received the Holy Communion in York Minster in 1834.<sup>4.</sup> Macleod Campbell communicated in Paris in 1838.<sup>5.</sup>

Macleod's biographer attributed his subsequent breadth of outlook to his having had a broader training than the average probationer, through his sojourns at Weimar and in Yorkshire.<sup>6.</sup>

Tulloch, too, acknowledged that his studies in Germany gave him/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 19.
  2. REMARKS ON INNOVATIONS IN THE PUBLIC WORSHIP OF GOD, proposed by the F. C. Presbytery of Hamilton, 1854, p. 4.
  3. D. Macleod, op. cit., p. 117.
  4. Ibid, p. 33.
  5. D. Campbell, op. cit., vol. II, p. 151.
  6. D. Macleod, op. cit., p. 55.

/him an appreciation of forms of worship very different from the Scottish form.<sup>1.</sup> In the General Assembly in 1865, during the debate on Innovations in Worship, Macleod pled for a spirit of inclusiveness and toleration in the National Church. Tulloch asked for an enlightened Catholicism, saying: "I do not attach much importance to these questions of innovation. But I attach some importance to the attitude which the Church may take up in regard to them, considering the prevailing spirit of the time, and the growth of a higher thoughtfulness in this as well as in other matters. This higher and more Catholic spirit - which feels its oneness with other Churches - is a spirit which commends itself to my Christian feeling, and I should wish to see it growing."<sup>2.</sup>

The growth of the railway system in Britain and the spread of the public Press increased the influence of England upon the Scottish Church. "The Church of England looms so large from its being so near,"<sup>3.</sup> complained Spratt. The example of the English Church was a dominant factor throughout the whole revival of worship. Hegel's philosophy, which exercised a quickening influence on theological thought in Scotland, was mediated through Oxford. The development of the Oxford Movement was followed with keen interest among Scottish churchmen.

The threat of disestablishment and the ecclesiastical divisions in/

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1. Mrs. Oliphant, LIFE OF PRINCIPAL TULLOCH, p. 210.  
 2. R. H. Story, LIFE AND REMAINS OF ROBERT LEE, vol. II, p. 157.  
 3. G. W. Spratt, op. cit., p. 2.

/in Presbyterianism roused admiration, almost envy, of the Church of England in Scottish hearts. The statements of the Lambeth Conferences, and the fear lest the Anglican Church should be made the "official Church" of the British Empire weighed heavily with some Scots. The concern for Christian re-union, which was a feature of Church life generally during the second half of last century, furthered the revival of worship. As Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews said ~~of~~ the formation of the Church Service Society, anything which made the Church of Scotland "more Catholic in its usages, habits and feelings" was accomplishing a task which was essential, if ever re-union in Scotland was to come.<sup>1</sup> The influence of English public schools and universities upon Scots who studied at them was an important factor in the revival of worship. During the whole period covered by this study, there existed a fear that any who went south, as Presbyterians, to study, were liable to return north as Episcopalians.

At this time, reaction was setting in to the type of worship which had established itself by use and wont in the Church of Scotland. The reaction was bound to come. External factors expedited it.

The reaction involved a choice, and how that choice appeared to one of the Church's ministers of the older school has been portrayed/

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1. J. Wordsworth, THE EPISCOPATE OF CHARLES WORDSWORTH, p.180.

/portrayed by his son: "Once, standing in the tall shadow of Durham Cathedral, upon whose narrow windows the slanting rays of a wintry sun glanced, suddenly the solemn peals of the mighty organ rose in full swell in my ear, and then died away in low cadences. I felt on that occasion the power of those charms, which belong to mere sensuous devotion. But I was resistlessly born<sup>e</sup> away to another time in my life... I heard the praises of the Redeemer from the lips of some hundreds of working people upon whom the Spirit of God had descended. I understood then, in the parish church of Kilsyth, the vast<sup>y</sup> superiority of real spiritual worship over the noblest combinations of mere earth-born art."<sup>1.</sup>

It was the task of the revival of worship to establish that this is not an inevitable option, and that true public worship can freely admit the appeal to the senses made by the arts, without ceasing to be intensely spiritual.

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1. Quoted by J. D. Dalrymple, from a speech by his father on the use of organs in worship, C. S. S. Report. 1905. The reference is to the Kilsyth revival of 1839.

b. The Awakening Social Consciousness: The Belief that the People will Demand a More Active Part in the Service.

KNOX'S LITURGY was so composed as to make responsive prayer impossible.<sup>1.</sup> Lee's PRESBYTERIAN PRAYER AND PSALM BOOK was so composed as to make it possible. In the second edition of Lee's book the verses of the prose psalms were hyphenated to facilitate antiphonal reading.

Probably, in their use of KNOX'S LITURGY the people did not even say "Amen" at the conclusion of the prayers.<sup>2.</sup> Lee encouraged his congregation to respond with "Amen" and to read the psalms responsively.<sup>3.</sup> Knox taught that psalm singing was the people's part in the service. Lee contended that this provision was inadequate for the vocal part of the people in the service.<sup>4.</sup>

Lee held that the DIRECTORY's gravest defect was its making no provision for the people taking any formal part in the public worship of the Sanctuary. They are neither to join in repeating aloud the Lord's Prayer... nor are any responses provided in which they are to join; nor what is more strange, especially in such strict Scripturists as the compilers were, are the people enjoined or recommended to express their assent and concurrence in the devotions by repeating the Amen aloud... they are regarded and treated throughout the whole service as a mere audience, hearers of the minister."<sup>5.</sup>

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1. With the exception of the OFFICE FOR THE DEDICATION OF A SHIP.

2. T. Leishman, op. cit., p. 327.

3. R. H. Story, THE REFORMED RITUAL IN SCOTLAND, p. 38.

4. R. Lee, op. cit., pp. 190 - 191.

5. Ibid, p. 159.

What prompted Lee and others at this time to demand that the people be given a more active part in public worship ? No doubt the example of the Church of England influenced this demand, for almost all who occupied themselves with the reform of worship in the Established Church then, spoke and acted in a self-conscious comparison of the Scottish Church with the English. The main factor, however, was a belief that the people were demanding a more active part, and that by refusing it, the Church was becoming increasingly out of touch with the masses.

One who himself was by personal experience only too conscious of how far out of touch the Church had become with the humbler classes in a large city, wrote: "the 'preachings' - the 'hearing' of so and so - the manner in which the worship of the Almighty, which ought ever to be decently and gravely conducted, is too frequently compressed into a corner, that greater scope may be afforded for a sermon of extreme length, too often places the instruction, nay, even the pandering to a false and vicious taste on the part of the hearers, in the foreground; while in many congregations, from want of proper training and help, the only portion of the service in which the congregation can as yet cordially take part, is miserably ill-conducted."<sup>2</sup>

A pamphlet, published in 1871, shows that there was cause for alarm./

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1. See A. R. Bonar, THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND'S DUTY TO THE MASSES.
  2. A. R. Bonar, PRESBYTERIAN LITURGIES, p. 5.



/alarm. There were, especially in a city like Glasgow, large classes of the people whose lives were untouched by Christian<sup>1.</sup> Ordinances.

In many Highland parishes the people had forsaken the parish church, and its minister conducted worship within the soul-destroying emptiness of a bare building, while the Free Church in the same parish was packed with eager worshippers.

Lee blamed the long, uninteresting services as the cause of<sup>2.</sup> "indifference of the working classes to the service of the Church." Just after the Disruption, Norman Macleod admitted: "I think it is a principle, a political necessity, to make the Church acceptable to the people, as far as Bible principle will admit."<sup>3.</sup>

"In many of our churches," wrote one who could remember the services of the Kirk before the innovations in worship began to appear, "the service provided is such as to make it very difficult, and in some cases quite impossible to attain to the idea of being joyful in the house of prayer. I say nothing of the bodily discomfort to be found in some churches; nor even of the scandalous ugliness of many: where things are as they ought to be in this respect, there is still, as our devoutest ministers and lay members have said in my hearing times innumerable, too little for the worshipper to do. A sad truth is implied in the common form of speech, that such a one is/

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1. A STATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN STATISTICS WITH REMARKS ON CHURCH WORK, GLASGOW, 1871.
  2. R. H. Story, THE LIFE AND REMAINS OF ROBERT LEE, vol. II, p. 29.
  3. D, Macleod, op. cit., p. 135.

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/ins a hearer in his parish church."

A Lord Provost of Edinburgh later complained, saying: "I may be different from other people, but I tell you frankly that it is not often that I can follow prayers from beginning to end, because as a rule they are too long, and I am satisfied it would tend very much to devotional feeling in our churches, if we had our customary prayers shorter than they are, and gathered into a book of prayers." 2.

It is noticeable, also, that references in the General Assembly to the need for improved psalmody met with marked popular applause from the public gallery.

Educated people, especially in view of the growing popularity of Episcopacy among their class in Scotland, could scarcely help comparing the Presbyterian form of worship with the responsive services of Episcopacy. Unfortunately, high marks were accorded to length, both in prayer and in preaching in the current Presbyterian assessment of ministerial worth. It must have been at times a trial for educated worshippers, to listen during worship to so much eloquence delivered by one man, in whose hands the successful or unsuccessful conduct of the service so largely lay. This must have frequently been their experience after the Disruption, when all the clergy were not men of first-class abilities, and others grew discouraged and careless amid the difficulties of the time.

Plain people must often have found the services dreary. Tired with long hours of hard work, and often with a long walk to church, they/

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1. A. K. H. Boyd, TOWARDS SUNSET, p. 245.  
2. C. S. S. Report, 1898, p. 27.

/they were expected to listen intelligently to long discourses, delivered in English, while they mostly spoke a Scottish dialect, and dealing in part with abstractions, while their minds were necessarily so pre-occupied all week with the concrete.

Dr. McMurtrie recalled later a time when it was necessary to stand, in order<sup>1.</sup> to keep awake during the prayers.

It must not be forgotten, however, that their knowledge of the Bible and of the SHORTER CATECHISM made the prevailing church worship a reality for many worshippers of all classes, and this perhaps more so than any more ornately symbolic form of worship might have done, had it been unaccompanied by a correspondingly real and sympathetic grasp of the doctrine underlying it. Nevertheless, the prevailing type of worship was too intellectual; it gave too little scope for a legitimate and dignified expression of the emotions of the worshippers; its rejection of symbolism and of sensual aids made high demands upon the mental and spiritual capacities of all present. At the same time it is to be remembered that the expression of dissatisfaction with the Church's worship happened at a time in which the extension of the franchise, the growth of the popular press, and the existence in Scotland of self-opinionated ecclesiastical division were important factors. People were finding more scope for the expression of their views, and were not slow to seize it. It was a time of criticism. Many things were being questioned. The form of worship in the Church of Scotland/

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1. C. S. S. Report, 1902, p.27.

/Scotland also came in for review.

A thorough-going Calvinist theology, which to the popular mind divided all men into two classes, had not always shown understanding and helpfulness in the presence of poverty, slavery, degradation and shame. The new importance being placed on the Fatherhood of God by recent theology, and the interest shown in the ~~Human~~ Life of Christ by current Biblical scholarship, broadened the Church's sympathies, and stimulated her interest in the humblest of humanity.

The Church of Scotland was beginning to be conscious of the social problems within her parishes. She saw that she might be accused of having encouraged a class religion, especially in the days of the Moderates, when her parishioners so frequently found little redress, when their souls were aggrieved by obnoxious presentees. Church attendance might have become the badge of middle-class respectability, but there were other classes for which the Church realised that she had a responsibility. Norman Macleod has given us a picture of the poverty and drunkenness of Dalkeith in the years after the Disruption.<sup>1.</sup>

Concern for the spiritual welfare of the humbler classes was a factor in the revival of worship. The movement found ample scope wherein to express itself among those who had no Church background and few ecclesiastical prejudices. Among the working people of Govan and E, St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, for example, the fullest doctrinal teaching/

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1. D. Macleod, op. cit., p. 142.

/teaching and liturgical enrichment of worship were later to be realised.

In 1865 Dr. Pirie criticised the "Innovation Movement" as being purely clerical.<sup>1.</sup> The movement was not so, either in its origin, or in its development. There was a popular demand for it, and support for it, although by reason of the subject with which it dealt, it was primarily a clerical movement.

It cannot, however, be said that the mass of the people were clamouring for read prayers, responses, and fixed forms for the Sacraments and other services. Certain of the clergy, certain of the "educated hearers," of whom Lee spoke, were demanding these things, but the bulk of the people, while they may have wished for briefer and more appropriate devotions in church, desired better qualified clergy, rather than the introduction of what they called "Episcopalian" practices into the Church.

The parish minister was still in enjoyment of a position of unparalleled influence among his congregation. Week by week, he spoke authoritatively to them. Week by week he led them to the Throne of Grace. In those days, when people travelled little from home, when their minds were unassailed by many opinions being daily thrust upon them through the Press, radio and television, the minister in a country parish, if he were at all acceptable to his flock, guided their thoughts to a remarkable degree.

Probably many would have welcomed shorter, better ordered, less didactic services, but they would certainly have wanted a minister, who by his training and gifts could lead their worship, and bring home/

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1. "Scotsman," 24. 5. 1865.

/home the Word to their souls by his preaching. They did not want a prayer book, with or without responses.

Thus we read that Norman Macleod's church at Loudon was "crowded to suffocation," yet he "never used a scrap of paper."<sup>1.</sup> All were agreed that Lee's extemporaneous prayers far exceeded in quality those of his clerical brethren. The wisest of his critics wondered why he ever took to reading prayers at all.<sup>2,</sup>

Indeed, Lee seems to have stood rather alone in his demand for responses. He certainly was outwith the Reformed tradition in Scotland in making this demand. Later, in the ranks of the Church Service Society, the demand was heard. There, it was argued that young people could not be expected to be attracted to church by two long prayers, in which they could take no audible part, and by worship from which the repetition of even the Lord's Prayer was excluded.<sup>3.</sup> In 1886 during a discussion on the need for giving the people more part in the service, Sir A. Muir Mackenzie said: "There were many (Episcopalians) who visited Scotland who found a form of service prevailing altogether strange to them. If some provision were made for the response of the congregation in the service - something of what they were accustomed at home - they might be brought into greater sympathy and union with them."<sup>4.</sup> The Society agreed to make provision for responses in the next edition of EUCHOLOGION.

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1. D. Macleod, op. cit., p. 82.  
2. "Scotsman," 14. 3. 1867.  
3. C. S. S. Report, 1891, p. 37.  
4. C. S. S. Report, 1886, p. 25.

c. The Increasing Material Prosperity: The Demand for a More Ornate, Symbolic and Dignified Public Worship.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, considerable material prosperity came to the upper and middle classes of society in Scotland. Considerable progress was achieved in science, and literature flourished. Some Scottish churchmen persuaded themselves that they were living in an enlightened and prosperous age, which could not be expected to tolerate the stern simplicities and uncouth forms of a public worship which was acceptable to a past generation.

There remained, of course, plenty of unseemliness in Scottish society, but "respectability" drew a veil between much of this and the church-going public. Increasingly, the sentimental, the "pious," and the "moral" predominated in Church circles. It was a time when all who could afford it were building themselves larger houses, which they furnished with heavy, ornate furnishings.

The times were reflected in a changing taste in the ordering of public worship and all that concerned it. Ruskin was praised by Story for having restored a sense of the value of religious art.<sup>1</sup> The revival of Gothic architecture which accompanied the Tractarian Movement came to direct Church building and furnishing in Scotland. Commenting on the Greyfriars' case, "The Times" asked "whether the age is not becoming too refined, too fastidious, too critical, and too<sup>2</sup> reasonable for extemporaneous - that is, declamatory - prayer."

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1. R. H. Story, THE REFORMED RITUAL IN SCOTLAND, p. 38.

2. "Times," 3. 1. 1866.

Begg was soon to complain that the age was becoming luxurious and irreligious, and to object to the "luxury and music of the drawing-room" being transferred <sup>1,</sup> to the Church.

Church life after the Disruption revealed that there was now a new moneyed class who could afford to pay for the luxury of dissent. This was a warning to the Establishment. She could not, it was urged, afford to ignore the changing tastes of the times, particularly as these affected public worship. "Many things," said Lee, defending his course of action, "may have been tolerable or even necessary in a different state of society and in older times, which are not necessary now - which are not proper now - which are an obstruction instead of a help. In the state, everything has been adapted to the changing times; and what is the result? The nation is prosperous beyond all example - beyond all imagination; the people are not only comfortable, but rich beyond the dreams of former generations. They are better educated, and I hope they are becoming wiser. The grosser vices at least are diminishing - descending always to lower and lower strata of society - and following this analogy, the Church may and ought to be made better."<sup>2.</sup>

The concepts of evolution and of progress, which were soon to exercise so marked an influence on later Victorian thought and life, extended their influence even to the worship of the Church of Scotland.

The wealth and taste of the times <sup>was soon to be seen in the type of church which</sup> began to appear in Scotland, and/

1. J. Begg, ANARCHY IN WORSHIP OR RECENT INNOVATIONS, p. 48.

2. R. H. Story, THE LIFE AND REMAINS OF ROBERT LEE, vol. II, p. 287.



/and in the stained glass and embellishments with which it was soon to be adorned.

These new buildings, with their glossy, heavy pews, their massive, sometimes ungainly pulpits, their fussy decoration, and their sentimental depicting of Biblical incidents expressed a different mood from that expressed by their predecessors with their simple, sometimes crude design, their unadorned interiors, their bare walls and utilitarian seating. The massive pipe organs which later came to be the most prominent feature in the interior of many churches, were rather glaring instances of the wealth and taste of the times.

Some within the Church protested that such changes were a departure from the pure and simple worship of their fathers. Pirie opposed the use of instrumental music, arguing that to admit the principle was to open the door to all sorts of innovations, and the ministers would soon be adorning their gowns with bells.<sup>1.</sup> He ridiculed the whole set-up at Greyfriars', once Lea had made changes (all of which changes, however, were not to become generally accepted), speaking in the Assembly of "an altar with gas lights," and a "Minister and Curate officiating," such ritual being associated in that church with attacks upon the doctrine of effectual calling from its pulpit.<sup>2.</sup> "We have," he asserted, "the most pure and spiritual Church, both in doctrine and in worship, to be found anywhere since the Reformation."<sup>3.</sup>

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1. W. R. Pirie, REPORT ON A SPEECH ON THE USE OF INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN PUBLIC WORSHIP, 26. 5. 1871.

2. "Scotsman," 24. 5. 1865.

3. Ibid.

This boast was constantly reiterated during the discussions on public worship.

Gothic architecture became the vehicle of expression for much of this change of taste. It became popular, largely for emotional and literary reasons, not on account of a return to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical presuppositions, which had originally inspired it. It was considered specially suitable for church building because of the feelings of awe and reverence it was said to evoke. Scotland followed the example of the Anglicans and English Non-conformists in taking it up, sometimes in the course of time building edifices which were by no means primarily suited to Presbyterian worship.

Germany influenced the Scottish Church last century in church designs, as well as in theology and Biblical criticism. In the eighteenth century the Germans evolved a theory that the organ should be placed behind the preacher's back (instead of at the opposite end of the building from the pulpit.) The choir was moved from the west end of the church and grouped in front of the organ, facing the congregation, for anthems and oratorios. Holy Table, preacher, choir and organ were then said to be "in Verbindung," ("in an organised composition.") This arrangement was adopted by the English Non-conformists. It soon found acceptance in Scotland also, where most of the new organs were placed at the same end of the church as/

/as the pulpit, the pulpit in many cases being bracketed on to the organ case. The growing practice of simultaneous Communion facilitated this arrangement.

Thus the central pulpit in the plain, often dignified church, which was seated for the maximum number of "hearers," which had a central Communion Table at which the worshippers sat in turns, was relegated to the category of "old-fashioned" and "inconvenient," although it could be, as a form of church, significant for Calvinist worship with its emphasis on the unity of Word and Sacrament.

Once the changing taste of the times found liberty to express itself in "improving" the Church's worship, few asked themselves what was the doctrinal and liturgical significance of the changes they were effecting.

SECTION 5SOME ASPECTS OF PUBLIC WORSHIP WHICH RECEIVED PARTICULAR  
CRITICISMa. The Training of Probationers.

During the earlier part of last century little training in pastoral theology was given by the Church of Scotland to her divinity students.

With or without pastoral training, the task confronting the young probationer on his induction to a pastoral charge must have been formidable. He was expected to prepare week by week very long prayers and discourses. Probationers were called to parishes at an early age. Tulloch was inducted to Kettins at 23. Archibald Scott to the East Church, Perth, at 22, and Cameron Lees, pressed to accept translation to St. Bernard's, Edinburgh, at 24, felt he could not face that crowded church week by week.

In some parishes, probationers were at Ordination given charge of thousands of souls. At the age of 23 James MacGregor (later of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh) was given charge of 14,000 souls.

Apparently, the Professors of Divinity touched very lightly on the subject of worship. Probationers had little to guide them, except the type of service to which they had been accustomed from youth up.<sup>1.</sup>

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1. See G. W. Sprott, THE PUBLIC PRAYERS OF YESTERDAY.

Some volumes had been published which they could use as models;  
 e.g. THE SCOT<sup>CH</sup>~~ISH~~ MINISTER'S ASSISTANT, 1802,<sup>(2nd ed. = The Presbyterian Minister's Assistant)</sup> 1822; a volume by Dr. George Burns, New Brunswick, published in 1829, and in the same year, COMMUNION SEASON SERVICES, by A. G. Carstares, Anstruther Wester; Dr. Cumming's edition of KNOX'S LITURGY, published in 1840; W. Liston's THE SERVICE OF THE HOUSE OF GOD, published in 1843, and Dr. Brunton's FORMS FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP, published in 1848.

The current theological training concentrated on the students' intellectual, rather than spiritual development. Carlyle was offended at the ease with which he could have been accepted as a probationer in the Church. Irving complained that the Church looked for the wrong qualities in her students. He said "the gifts of the Spirit for the office are not looked for by the Presbyters, but certificated of professors and petty attainments in literature and science, a smattering of everything, and of theology, that is, Calvinist divinity, among the rest; and floods of such unspiritual, ungifted persons are poured upon the churches. And from these they must make their choice, or be without ministers altogether."<sup>1.</sup>

Norman Macleod felt that the status of probationer carried with it lack of real recognition and respect - "He is worse than nobody," he lamented.<sup>2.</sup> "The Hall," said Story of Roseneath, "is a miserable place."<sup>3.</sup>

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1. E. Irving, PREFACE TO THE CONFESSIONS OF FAITH etc., preface, pp. CIX-CX  
 2. D. Macleod, op. cit., pp. 65 -,66.  
 3. R. H. Story, MEMOIR OF THE REV. ROBERT STORY, p. 36.

Probationers found themselves in need of guidance in the conduct of public devotions. Sprott records how much at a loss he felt himself to be, when, as a young minister, settled in a distant colony, he was called upon to conduct a Marriage Service.<sup>1.</sup> Archibald Scott admitted in later life that<sup>at</sup> the beginning of his ministry he did not pay sufficient attention to the devotional part of the service.<sup>2.</sup> Lee wrote of young clergy, who, at a loss for material, included snippets from the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER in their pulpit prayers.<sup>3.</sup>

Liston of Redgorton described his book as intended "chiefly to assist the devotion and direct the meditation of those who are necessarily detained from public worship; and to form a directory to young clergymen on their first entering on their official duties."<sup>4.</sup>

A. K. H. Boyd said that many probationers imitated the prayers which they had heard in their home church in their youth.<sup>5.</sup> Thus a traditional phraseology was perpetuated. There was a common treasury of devotional phrases upon which ministers could draw. The same writer made the well-known remark: "If you hear a decent, commonplace, rather stupid Scotch minister pray, every sentence would fall quite familiarly on your ear if you were a Scotsman. It is the regular old thing, only the components a little shuffled."<sup>6.</sup>

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1. G. W. Sprott, THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 44.
  2. Lord Sands, LIFE OF DR. ARCHIBALD SCOTT AND HIS TIMES, p. 19.
  3. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 15.
  4. W. Liston, THE SERVICE OF THE HOUSE OF GOD ACCORDING TO THE PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, title page.
  5. A. K. H. Boyd, THE NEW LITURGICS OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH, "Fraser's Magazine," July, 1857.
  6. Ibid.

Much of the "traditional liturgy" was derived from Matthew Henry'S METHOD FOR PRAYER WITH SCRIPTURE EXPRESSIONS PROPER TO BE USED UNDER EACH HEAD. (1710)<sup>1.</sup>

Lee thought that the young probationer was expected to do what he could not do satisfactorily - to produce six long public prayers each Sunday and to extemporise for the Church's solemn rites.<sup>2.</sup>

Sprott attributed the existing defects in the Church's public prayers and special services largely to the neglect of adequate instruction in these matters at the universities.<sup>3.</sup>

One of the aims of the Church Service Society, when it was formed, was to assist probationers in the preparation of public devotions. Later, the "improved" prayers of probationers were often commented on at meetings of that society. Gratification was expressed at hearing phrases from EUCHOLOGION so widely employed by young clergymen in public prayer. A. K. H. Boyd thought the Established Church was in this respect so much more fortunate than the Free Church, in which the younger clergy modelled themselves on one man, and understudies of Dr. Candlish were to be found up and down the country.

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1. See Sprott, preface to EUCHOLOGION, 1905, p. XI.
  2. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 72.
  3. G. W. Sprott, THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 20.

b. The "Unwritten Liturgy of Stock-Phrases."

"It may be true," wrote Lee, "that the extravagancies and indecorums which were once so frequent, and which are still so prevalent in some quarters, are no longer heard, or very seldom, in the Church of Scotland, or among Presbyterian sects. Still prayers are often uttered which no person who has good sense and moderate education can hear throughout with full concurrence and sympathy; and I feel persuaded that a verbatim report of all the public prayers uttered in Scotland any one Sunday in the year, would settle the question forever in the mind of every person who was capable of forming a rational judgement upon such a matter."<sup>1.</sup>

Another side to this picture is presented by the remarks of Professor Stevenson in the Assembly of 1865. He said: "It is perfectly true that sometimes we may hear the devotional parts of our public worship conducted in a way that is slovenly and unsatisfactory. That may be perfectly true. I do not deny it: but I do say, with the most entire conviction of the truth of what I say, that this is sometimes grossly exaggerated. (Hear, hear and applause.) And I do not believe that the defect extends to any such degree as we would be made many times to believe: and the way to remedy is not to devise a supplement for it."<sup>2.</sup>

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1. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 76.

2. "Scotsman," 24. 5. 1865.



One wonders how far the criticism of Lee and others of the contemporary extemporary prayers was fair criticism. One feels that it was partly inspired by a desire for a different type of worship from the existing, traditional type, and was therefore to that extent prejudiced. There was an unfortunate tendency to contrast the worst examples of free prayer with the liturgical prayers of other Churches.

Practically nothing was said by the critics of how extemporary prayer could be improved, apart from borrowing expressions from printed books. Professor Candlish laid his finger on this weakness when he advised the Free Church students to cultivate their own spiritual life, and to pray in Biblical language, not uttering a string of quotations, but speaking out of the fullness of their hearts.<sup>1.</sup>

At a time when the Bible was well-known and much-loved by the people, ministers ought to have found little difficulty in carrying the people along with them in public prayer. There was a treasury of thought and language common to both ready at hand. Many, if not most, of the clergy would have scorned too detailed a preparation for public prayer, believing that the Spirit would lead them in their leading of their flock. The people were content that this should be so.

The suggestion of a prayer book was intolerable to the majority of/

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1. R. S. Candlish, SET FORMS OF PUBLIC PRAYER, pp. 13 - 16.

/of the people. Read prayer was felt to have lesser spiritual value. This conviction endured throughout our whole period of study.

The prayers of the time were criticised for their length, their lack of order and sequence of thought, their misquotations, their infelicitous phraseology, and for their lack of variety from Sunday to Sunday.

It was not, however, merely such extemporary prayer which the people found distasteful. They knew that prayers which had none of these defects might still not be prayers. Complaint was made of the manner in which Dr. Wallace, Lee's successor at Greyfriars', read the prayers from Lee's book. The people wanted prayer. They were quick to sense unreality, insincerity, and coldness, whether the prayer was read or extemporary.

At the same time, one is not surprised to learn that many contemporary prayers did lack beauty of form. Rather, this is what one would expect to find in an age which tolerated many ugly churches and rejoiced in unmusical praise. But spiritual reality is sometimes greater, not less, when little attention is paid to form.

As he knelt in private prayer beside the coffin of John McLeod Campbell, Norman Macleod "thanked God for extemporary prayer." <sup>1.</sup>

Many were doubtless brought face to face with God by the sincere, if disordered, and not entirely euphonious, free prayers of the time, who would have been left largely unmoved by the beautiful phrases of/

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1. D. Campbell, op. cit., vol. II, p. 346.

/of a liturgy read in cultured tones. Sincerity counted for more than beauty with the bulk of the people.

Some of the unhappy phraseology which was now being condemned has come down to us. One may doubt if some of the more facetious instances which were later recounted for the amusement of English tourists were ever heard in a Scottish pulpit.

Dr. Gibson, of Perth, gives a list of fifty passages of Scripture which he claims were regularly misquoted.<sup>1</sup> He also gives a choice example of confused order - "in the case of a disputed settlement in a certain Established Church Presbytery, in which the people took exception among other things to the 'rambling and jumbled style' of the presentee's prayers. He prayed first, they said, for Her Majesty; then for the Prince of Wales; then back again for Her Majesty; then he prayed for those in affliction and those that had broken bones, and those that had diseased souls, and for the army, navy and volunteers."<sup>2</sup>

According to Lord Sands, the "prayers were neither liturgical nor extempore, nor specially prepared for the occasion. Each minister, speaking generally, for there were a few exceptions, had his own stock of prayers, generally very lengthy ones. These prayers were no doubt all framed on the same general lines, and had many expressions in common. But each minister had his own set, and once he had memorised them, his life's work, so far as the preparation of devotional service was concerned, was done."<sup>3</sup>

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1. Dr. Gibson, OUR PUBLIC PRAYERS, p. 13.

2. Ibid, p. 12.

3. Lord Sands, THE LIFE OF ANDREW WALLACE WILLIAMSON, p.303.

Sprott argued that the contemporary service really was a survival of the latter part of the service as it was conducted before 1645. He maintained that the DIRECTORY, because of its unpopularity and the trouble~~w~~ of the times, had never been enforced. In many parishes, he thought, a mutilated version of the first part of the pre-1645 form of service remained in the form of the singing of a psalm and the reading of Scripture<sup>1</sup> by the precentor or schoolmaster.

Sprott has preserved for future generations his recollections of the prayer vocabulary current in the Church before the revival of worship commenced. Phrases such as the following were typical of these prayers:

"We bless thee that Thou hast cast our lot in a land of Gospel light and liberty, and that we can worship under our own vine and fig-tree, none daring to hurt us or make us afraid. We would set up our Ebenezer and say, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us..."

"We would come before Thee withour hands on our mouths and our mouths in the dust, crying out, God be merciful to us sinners..."

"Enable us to live here below as becomes candidates for glory, honour and immortality. May we go up through~~t~~the wilderness of this world, leaning on the arm of the Beloved of our souls, and supported in the dark valley by His rod and staff, may we be at the last/

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1. G. W. Sprott, THE PUBLIC PRAYERS OF YESTERDAY.

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/last admitted to the better country that is an heavenly..."

"We pray especially for the Church which Thou hast established in our land. Be a wall of fire around our Zion and the glory in the midst of her. Lengthen her cords and strengthen her stakes, and let no weapon that is formed against her prosper. Bless this corner of Thy vineyard and the whole body of the people therein, high and low, rich and poor, young and old together. Bless every individual apart, and every family apart. Bless them in their basket and in their store, and above all enrich them with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ Jesus..."<sup>1.</sup>

According to A. K. H. Boyd, striking prayer consisted in the minister praying in an eccentric fashion, so as to arouse the congregation from "the comatose condition into which people will fall when wearily standing through a prayer of thirty-five minutes wherein they could have completed every sentence as soon as begun." He gives an example of what he means: "We know there are blessings going tonight, and we put in for our share," and "Teach us to remember that for every sermon we hear, we must render account upon the Day of Judgement."<sup>2.</sup>

The same writer assures us that "it is no more than just to say that these eccentricities in prayers are exceptional and abnormal: that/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit.

2. A. K. H. Boyd, op. cit., p. 199.

/that although one, in a long life, has heard such perhaps half a dozen times, the strangest of them never were heard either by one's own ears or by those of any mortal known to us: they are matters of floating gossip and tradition: certainly much exaggerated, possibly absolute inventions. The actual standard of prayer has always been good. On very few Sundays in one's history have the prayers actually heard in public worship been other than decorous and devout: on many Sundays the prayers have been so beautiful and uplifting that it seemed as if they left nothing to be desired. And it is simply untrue that you cannot join in what is called an extempore prayer. One knows what has been said, times innumerable, by those trained to a liturgy. But it is entirely a question of what you have been trained to. No doubt there must needs be the act of listening to the petition: the act of assenting to it: the act of joining in it: but the mind acts with lightning rapidity when doing familiar work: and with a devout Scot trained to the old ways of the Kirk, when prayer is said by a minister in whom he has confidence, and whose ways he knows, the acts are practically simultaneous." <sup>1.</sup>

Sometimes the congregation was conscious that the minister was groping his way from one sentence of the prayer to the next. The impression was even known to have been conveyed that the minister had/

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1. Ibid, p. 201.

/had not said what he meant to say, or even wished he could withdraw his words. Tulloch recalled phrases such as "that is to say" and "by which I mean" in the prayers of an old professor of his youth.<sup>1.</sup>

Boyd has also recorded for us the nervous exhaustion which afflicted ministers who were obliged to offer prayers of anything up to thirty-five minutes duration. Even Dr. Veitch, the great<sup>2.</sup> opponent of innovations, experienced such fatigue and strain. "It's Peace," was the verdict of one minister of distinction, whom Boyd met on his way to conduct worship, as he held out a<sup>3.</sup> handsomely-bound prayer book.

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1. Ibid, p. 210.  
2. Ibid, p. 211.  
3. Ibid, p. 213.

c. Church Music.

The revival of Church music of the previous century had rescued the Church's praise from the worst features of that period when the people found that "the wild screaming which was mistakenly called music, did nothing towards bringing them into harmony with God, their neighbour or themselves."<sup>1.</sup> The Church's music had apparently been the worst feature of her worship. It was the first to receive attention. There still, however, remained plenty of room for improvement.

Millais's amusing sketch of the praise as it was rendered in the Free Church at Glenfinlas dates only from 1855.<sup>2.</sup> Norman Macleod could recall the limitations of a Highland precentor, whose repertoire consisted of three or four tunes.<sup>3.</sup> Indeed, there seems often to have been difficulty in finding a precentor at all.<sup>4.</sup> The congregation did not join in the praise as they ought.<sup>5.</sup> The tempo was slow.

At the beginning of our period of study, the question whether hymns and organs should be used in public worship was a burning one. The Act of the General Assembly of 1866 on Innovations in Public Worship did not specifically forbid the use of organs. By making the/

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1. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 139.
  2. See W. James, THE ORDER OF RELEASE, p. 204.
  3. N. Macleod, op. cit., p. 215.
  4. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 134.
  5. See Debates in the General Assembly on Psalmody; A. K. H. Boyd, TOWARDS SUNSET, p. 245.



/the preservation of congregational peace and harmony a guiding principle in dealing with innovations, the act, once the taste for organ music had really developed, really furthered the introduction of organs. Ere this, Marshall, Lang and Lee had already introduced organs into their respective churches. Between 1865-6 many more instruments appeared. The "organ movement" spread rapidly.<sup>1.</sup>

Sprott held that while instrumental music did not have a place in the worship of the Primitive Church, there was no Scriptural principle against it. Lee, who showed some antipathy to hymns and Scripture paraphrases, thought ~~that~~ an organ was necessary for chanting the psalms. He held that chanting was the perfection of Church praise.<sup>2.</sup>

Later, Leishman wrote: "The days of scanty and unmusical praise are passing away."<sup>3.</sup> Actually, the pendulum was for a time in danger of swinging too much in the other direction. Hymns seized the ground formerly held by the psalms. Anthems and "items" by the choir became a popular feature in worship, and in many churches where there were galleries, the organ was so built behind the pulpit as to dwarf pulpit and Holy Table.

Causes of defective Church praise were said to be ministerial ignorance/

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1. R. H. Story, LIFE AND REMAINS OF ROBERT LEE, vol. II, p. 257.
  2. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 154.
  3. T. Leishman, op. cit., p. 425.

/ignorance of the subject, poorly-paid and ill-qualified pre-centors, and the bad books of tunes in common use.<sup>1.</sup> The Devil and anti-Christ were accused of having the best tunes.<sup>2.</sup>

By the middle of last century, the urge ~~to~~ supplement ~~for~~ the psalms in Church praise was becoming pressing. The U. P. Church had adopted a hymnal in 1851. A tentative hymn book was permitted by the Church of Scotland in 1861. The SCOTTISH HYMNAL appeared in 1870, and received official authorisation in 1888. Much was made of the fact that the Scottish Reformers had published a few hymns with the psalter.

In 1864 200 - 300 congregations were estimated to have a choir; 20 - 30 were said to stand to sing, sitting or "bending forward" to pray, except in the case of one Presbytery, where standing to sing had been the common practice from time immemorial.<sup>3.</sup>

In the same year, the Assembly enjoined upon the Church the "importance of improving psalmody" and of training the young from early life to join in "singing to the praise of God in a grave and melodious manner."

In 1866 Professor Stevenson said that: "For many years the singing in Scotland had been a disgrace; and though great improvement had taken place, there was still a great deal to be done. He thought/

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1. "Scotsman," 1. 6. 1863.
  2. J. Cumming, THE LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, preface, pp. xviii - xix.
  3. Report of the Committee on Innovations in Public Worship, 1864.

/thought this was a subject of very special importance." <sup>1.</sup>

An account of the labours undertaken and the difficulties encountered by those who prepared the SCOTTISH HYMNAL will be found in A. K. H. Boyd's article, THE NEW HYMNOLOGY OF THE SCOTTISH CHURCH KIRK. <sup>2.</sup>

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1. "Scotsman," 26. 5. 1866.
  2. "Blackwood's Magazine," May, 1889.

d. Church Buildings and Furnishings.

A. K. H. Boyd, speaking of his boyhood in Ayrshire, wrote:  
 "at that time I had never seen any church that was not ugly."<sup>1.</sup>  
 Norman Macleod described the Barony Church, Glasgow, as "the  
 ugliest in Christendom,"<sup>2.</sup> In the first part of last century,  
 there were many ugly churches in Scotland. It was not merely  
 that the poverty of the country and the religious scruples of the  
 people dictated that church buildings be plain and austere, it was  
 not merely that art was divorced from religion as far as the decoration  
 of churches went, but there were evident only too often, needless  
 ugliness, indifference, even squalor in the parish churches.

Convenience and utility at the minimum cost seem often to have  
 been the guiding principles in building, enlarging or "improving"  
 churches. The parsimonious attitude of the heritors had often  
 been to blame, but want of good taste, and indifference to beauty  
 played their parts. In the eighteenth century, there was a phase  
 when mediaeval architecture was treated as barbaric. Many of the  
 old churches, or what remained of them, were swept away to make  
 room for a modern building "which if the heritors were frugal, took  
 the form of a quadrangle, combining the maximum of sitting room  
 with the minimum of assessment; if they were generous, was built  
 on some bastard classical design."<sup>3.</sup>

The churches which were now being built left much to be desired.  
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1. A. K. H. Boyd, TOWARDS SUNSET, p. 276.  
 2. Quoted in C. S. S. Report, 1900, p. 32.  
 3. T. Leishman, op. cit., p. 416.

/The churches which were now being built left much to be desired. The two hundred churches which Chalmers built for the Church of Scotland showed "every fault one could imagine."<sup>1.</sup> The Gothic revival came to Scotland before the revival of Church worship had begun. "Perpendicular Gothic" became popular, which, despite some fine examples, tended to produce a box-like meeting-house with pinnacles, buttresses, and decorative features stuck on. As the need for a central aisle, in which to seat the communicants at the Table passed away with the coming of "simultaneous Communion," interiors, packed with pews which swept across the central area of the building, sometimes resembled a wood-yard.

The re-opening of Greyfriars', Edinburgh, in 1857 was acclaimed by some as a sign that the Kirk had admitted Art as a handmaid of Religion, but it was really "an unsuccessful attempt to turn this seventeenth century Scots church into a thirteenth century English one."<sup>2.</sup>

For long, before the Oxford Movement pointed the way to those in Scotland, who were advocating a reform of worship, to reverent care for the House of God, neglect and unseemliness held sway.

Dorothy Wordsworth was horrified at the spectacle of sash windows inserted into Dunkeld Cathedral.<sup>3.</sup> Generally, neither the natural beauty of its setting nor its architectural and historic interest were/

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1. G. D. Henderson, op.cit., p. 109.

2. See TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, vol. IV, p. 55.

3. Dorothy Wordsworth, RECOLLECTIONS OF A TOUR MADE IN SCOTLAND, A.D. 1803, p. 209.

/were safeguards for any edifice against desecration. Of the stately St. Michael's, Linlithgow, a writer recalled how, in 1814, the church was divided into two parts - "the western half being devoted to worship, and the eastern to sepulchre."<sup>1</sup> The cathedrals of Elgin and St. Andrews had been used as stone quarries for domestic building.

Cameron Lees has depicted for us the dreariness and ugliness of Paisley Abbey before its restoration.<sup>2</sup>

Interior arrangements seem often to have left almost everything to be desired. Southey described his visit to Dundee Parish Church in 1819, speaking of it as "an extraordinary mass of buildings of all ages... this remarkable pile contains ~~no~~ fewer than five # places of worship. We went into two of them. The pews in both were placed without any apparent order as thick as they could be; nor could we have found our way among them, there being nothing like aisles, if our Cicerone had not lifted up seats and opened doors to give us a passage."<sup>3</sup>

He has also recorded his impressions of Glasgow Cathedral - "two places of worship have been neatly fitted up within... I observed, however, three things deserving reprobation. The window in one of the kirks had been made to imitate stained glass, by painting/

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1. Adam Dawson, RAMBLING RECOLLECTIONS OF PAST TIMES, 1868.
  2. See N. Maclean, LIFE OF JAMES CAMERON LEES, pp. 100 - 101.
  3. R. Southey, JOURNAL OF A TOUR IN SCOTLAND IN 1819, p. 55..

/painting on glass, and this, of course, had a pretty smeary appearance. The arches in the upper passages which at Westminster we used absurdly to call muneries, and of which I do not know the proper name, are filled up with an imitation of windows: these are instances of the worst possible taste. The other fault belongs to the unclean part of the national character: for the seats are so closely packed that any person who could remain there during the time of the service in warm weather must have an in vincible nose." <sup>1.</sup>

There was little reverence for church furnishings. We read of old baptismal basins being used as feeding-dishes for the manse poultry, patens for the Communion Bread being used as covers for meat chests or in place of a pane of glass in a manse outhouse. Valuable chalices were sold or "re-modelled." <sup>2.</sup> When Cooper was inducted to E. St. Nicholas, Aberdeen, the Communion Table normally stood in a passage and was used as a hat stand by choir members. <sup>3.</sup>

Both Lee and Sprott implied that many churches were not clean. <sup>4.</sup> As late as 1898, Lord Sands recorded: "I was in a Highland church a few months ago, where I observed there was no flooring and that the place under the seat was used as a receptacle for broken bottles and/

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1. Ibid, p. 255.
  2. See Thomas Burns, CHURCH PROPERTY, THE BENEFICE REGISTER, pp. 134-182.
  3. H. J. Wotherspoon, JAMES COOPER, A MEMOIR, p. 119.
  4. R. Lee, THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 139;  
G. W. Sprott, THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 10.

/and other rubbish. Can it be wondered that men of English education residing in that district - people accustomed to elegance and good taste in the House of God - are turned away from the Church of Scotland and will go twenty miles to an Episcopal Chapel where things are ~~orderly~~ done in an orderly and decent manner." <sup>1.</sup> It has, however, to be remembered that it was not until the Tractarian Movement put forward its doctrinal teaching, that worthier standards in the externals of public worship became general in the English Church. In Scotland, the Parliamentary churches had no floors. In their neglect after the Disruption, some of these in the Highlands showed pews rotting on the damp ground.

Sprott sounded a clarion call for improved arrangements in public worship. "I will," he said, "only add here that it is the duty of every clergyman to see that his church be kept scrupulously clean, and that all the appurtenances of Christian worship - books, plate, linen and vestments - are fitting and becoming, for nothing is little in God's service. The chances are that a clergyman who is content with a barn of a church, the pews of which are crusted with mould or covered with dust, a pulpit with tattered fringes, a Bible with loose leaves, dirty linen at the Communion Table, or an old, torn gown from some shop where new styles of gowns are presumptuously/

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1. C. S. S. Report, 1898, p. 30.



/presumpt<sup>u</sup>uously invented - the chances are that such a man will not be careful in weightier matters to follow the apostolic rule 'Let all things be done decently and in order!' 1. #

Sprott, at the commencement of the revival of worship, advocated a return to the basilica type of church of primitive Christianity. He suggested that chairs, not pews, occupy the front of the nave, so that space could easily be cleared for the Table at Holy Communion, at which the communicants could sit. He also advocated a "bishop's chair and desk" with seats for the elders in the chancel or apse. 2.

Unfortunately, as the revival of worship progressed, Presbyterianism, which hitherto had shown an unhealthy fear of beauty in the sanctuary, disclosed an amazing capacity for borrowing from the church designs of other traditions, instead of evolving a church design in keeping with <sup>the</sup> her type of worship of the Primitive church, as Sprott would have wished.

It must be remembered that, quite apart from Puritan corruptions of Presbyterian traditions of worship in Scotland, the pulpit would most likely have established its position on the main axis of the building. The service was essentially a preaching service, and churches are, and should be, designed to suit their use. Nor must it be forgotten that many remembered the plain edifices, which were soon/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 10.

2. Ibid, p. 9.

/soon to be condemned as bare and utilitarian, with gratitude.

The <sup>un-</sup>lovely surroundings were un-noticed amid the spiritual reality of the worship. Thus Carlyle recalled the Ecclefechan meeting house where Irving and he worshipped in youth, saying: "I must bid adieu also to that poor temple of my childhood, to me more sacred at this moment than perhaps the biggest cathedral then extant could have been; rude, rustic, bare - no temple in the world was more so - but there were sacred lambencies, tongues of aesthetic flame from heaven which kindled what was best in one, what has not yet gone out." <sup>1.</sup> Hanna, too, has pictured for us in the plain country kirk of Kilmany, the eager <sup>waiting</sup> ~~waiting~~ for the Word, after Chalmers' conversion, which brought people to worship there from great distances and made the church a centre of spiritual power. "It was not long till the whole aspect of the Sabbath congregation in Kilmany church was changed. The stupid wonder which used to sit on the countenance of the few villagers or farm-servants who attended Divine Service, was turned into a fixed, intelligent and devout attention." <sup>2.</sup>

Furthermore, when they settled in distant places, the Scots built ~~their~~ churches after the pattern of the plain sanctuaries which they loved at home.

Spirituality is sometimes greater, not less, when little attention is paid to externals. Just as silence can be meaningful in worship, so can austere simplicity in church architecture.

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1. T. Carlyle, REMINISCENCES, vol. I, p. 86.
  2. W. Hanna, MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THOMAS CHALMERS, vol. I, pp. 427 - 428.

e. The Prevailing Use and Wont with regard to the Celebration of the Sacraments, and the Conduct of Marriages and Burials.

All the criticisms of the worship of the Church of Scotland which were heard at the middle of last century, were intensified when criticism was directed to the Sacramental and Occasional Services.

In this field, it was said, the Church had erred most of all. She had strayed from the tradition of the early Scottish Reformed Church; ~~she~~ she had broken faith with the Reformed Churches of the Continent; she had disobeyed the injunctions of the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER and of the DIRECTORY; by failing to provide a certain uniformity in the conduct of these rites, she had neglected her duty as a National Church.

Private Baptism and Marriage, then the common practice of the Church, were attacked, as being forbidden both by the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER and the DIRECTORY. A serious divergence was noted in the questions put to sponsors at Infant Baptism. There was a prevalent failure to distinguish between the vows of the sponsors and the personal obligations of the baptized.<sup>1.</sup>

The Fast Day, which had long ceased to be a day of fasting, was often one of licence and disorder. Steadfastly private Communion for/

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1. cf. T. Leishman, op, cit., p. 408f.

/for the sick was refused. The Assembly rejected an overture which sought to authorise it.

By 1864 there were 50 congregations in which "simultaneous Communion" had replaced the succession of "tables."<sup>1.</sup> By this time, apparently all the sacramental services which had grown around the celebration of the Lord's Supper, continued to be observed in the towns, but the Saturday and Monday services were being dropped, or evening services were being substituted for them in the country. Complaints were beginning to be heard about the length pf the Communion services, and about the expense and turmoil involved in providing hospitality for the visiting clergy and communicants. When the elder Story went to Roseneath, it was a point of honour, in which each parish tried to rival its neighbour, that the Communion services should be prolonged as much as possible, and it was by no means rare that beginning at 11 a. m., they should drag their slow length along till 6 or 7 in the evening, to the accompaniment of a good deal of eating and drinking in the nearest inn.<sup>2.</sup>

At the celebration of neither sacrament was the Creed recited. Sprott desired to retain the practice whereby the communicants left their pews and sat at the Table.<sup>3.</sup> He also said: "It can scarcely be doubted that private Baptism, as often administered, has tended to the degradation of the Divine ordinances, and to the/

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1. Report of the Committee on Innovation in Public Worship, 1864.  
 2. R. H. Story, MEMOIR OF REV. ROBERT STORY, pp. 50 - 51.  
 3. G. W. Sprott, THE WORSHIP, RITES AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH  
 pp. 40. 40 - 41

/the fostering of irreverence in the land. There is something very un-Christian too, in the class distinctions which are often connected with it." <sup>1.</sup>

Bishop Wordsworth criticised the Established Church for her negligence in not preserving Baptismal Registers. He also complained that, since the children only of "godly" parents were admitted to Baptism, the parents were often afraid to bring their children to the minister, lest they should be refused. Many, <sup>2.</sup> therefore, he thought, remained unbaptized.

Leishman felt regarding this Sacrament that "the people learned to speak as if the naming of the child were the essence of the Sacrament." <sup>3.</sup>

Doubt was felt regarding how far the people understood the nature of Sacraments as means of grace. Of the earlier part of last century, one writer said: "The Sacraments had both been abused.... Though the Presbyterian system rejects the sacramentarianism of the ritualists, it had come to adopt practically a sacramentarianism of its own. Baptism and the Lord's Supper had both been degraded into Jewish observances. Children were admitted to Baptism who could not come under the rule laid down in the Westminster Standards. The Lord's Supper was an annual or semi-annual feast encumbered with all manner of human observances, devised with the very best intentions, but not with true spiritual wisdom; and for admission to/

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1. Ibid. p. 59.  
 2. J. Wordsworth, op. cit., p. 60.  
 3. T. Leishman, op. cit., p. 409.

/to it, the Church put itself between God and the individual conscience, in the same way as the Church of Rome had done, and with the same disastrous results to the spiritual and moral welfare of the members." <sup>1.</sup>

During the eighteenth century, the practice of celebrating Marriage Services in private houses established itself. "The easy requirements of Scottish law did not tend to add solemnity to the marriage union. The desire of the vulgar rich to have their marriages hid from the common gaze contributed to the result." <sup>2.</sup> Sprott maintained that the older tradition of church marriage, as represented by the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER and the DIRECTORY was never entirely given up. <sup>3.</sup>

The criticism was now made that the Marriage Service was left too much to the liturgical taste and good sense of the individual minister. "Liberty is apt to degenerate into licence, simplicity into vulgarity, while young clergymen are often quite at a loss as to the sort of service they should set up." <sup>4.</sup>

By this time, in the case of funerals, although the Church's Standards forbade service either at the house or at the grave, a service in the former place was usual. Leishman believed that certain words in the Burial Service of the Church of England impeded the/

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1. W. T. Kerr, op. cit., p. 33.
  2. T. Leishman, op. cit., p. 413.
  3. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 44.
  4. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 44.

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/the introduction of prayers at the grave. Families were known to have seceded to Episcopacy, because the Established Church offered no grave-side service. Such a service was already common among Presbyterians in the colonies. When the Church of Scotland published AIDS TO DEVOTION for the use of her people, who were cut off from the ordinances of the Church, she included a form of prayer for use at a grave.

Lee himself was buried without any service at the grave.

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1. T. Leishman, op. cit., p. 415.

SECTION 6INNOVATORS AND INNOVATIONS.a. The Greyfriars' Case.

Dr. A. K. H. Boyd said of Robert Lee, who is frequently credited with having initiated the reform of worship in the Church of Scotland: "Dr. Crawford, who had mainly started the movement, became Professor of Divinity, had been got hold of by those who persuaded him that he must be silent, and in fact, never had the nature of a controversialist, so the battle, at the first, was fought, but all alone, by Dr. Robert Lee. It was singular that it should have fallen to him. He had little ear for the melody of liturgical prayer. He valued dogmatic freedom incomparably more than ritual. His taste, in matters ecclesiological, was exactly the reverse of Catholic. His marvellous cleverness and smartness, and his capacity as a hard hitter, seemed not quite the characteristics of the man who was to mend the devotions of the Church. He was as alert and bright a debater as ever I listened to: but even a great Lord President dismissed these qualities with the single word "flippant."<sup>1.</sup>

The credit, however, of being first in the field was given by/

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1. A. K. H. Boyd, ST. ANDREWS AND ELSEWHERE, p. 208.



/by Lee himself to Dr. Marshall Lang, who introduced standing to sing in East St. Nicholas Church, Aberdeen, during his ministry there (1856 - 1859). Although, at the bidding of the Presbytery, the congregation soon returned to "use and wont," strong feelings had been aroused. A petition had been presented to the Presbytery deprecating their interference, and claiming liberty for the congregation, who, it was alleged, had broken no law. Sympathisers joined the East Church. But Marshall Lang declined to appeal against the Presbytery's decision, believing that the question of posture was not sufficiently important.

Then, at the beginning of Lang's ministry in the newly-built Anderston Church, an organ was used on the first Sunday of opening. On this occasion, Norman Macleod preached the sermon - a defence of the use of instrumental music in the Church. This innovation was made possible (in Marshall Lang's own words) because "there was no congregation to object."<sup>1</sup> This instrument was in use some months before that at Greyfriars', Edinburgh. It was the first organ used in public worship in the revival of worship.

The innovations in public worship which really aroused public interest and launched the reforming movement on its way, were those introduced by Lee himself.

On 19th January, 1845, fire damaged Greyfriars' church with the/

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1. Quoted in J. Kerr, op. cit., p. 90.

/the result that the Greyfriars' congregation had to share the Tolbooth Church with Dr. Smith's congregation until 1857, when their own building was re-opened for worship. They returned to the old building, but not to the form of worship which they had formerly known there.

During this congregational exile, Lee had become confirmed in his conviction that the public worship then prevailing in the Church of Scotland was gravely defective both in form and substance, and was a constant source of detriment to the life and growth of the Established Church.<sup>1.</sup>

Accordingly, in 1857, with the acquiescence of his congregation, Lee introduced what were soon to be termed "innovations." These were: kneeling to pray; standing to sing; prayers read by the minister; the opening of the service with a solemn call to worship and with prayer, instead of the customary psalm.<sup>2.</sup>

Late in the same year, Lee published PRAYERS FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP WITH EXTRACTS FROM THE PSALTER, and thereafter his prayers in church were mainly read from this book.<sup>3.</sup>

1. R. H. Story, THE LIFE AND REMAINS OF DR. ROBERT LEE, vol. I, p. 327.
2. Ibid, p. 332. (See also Appendix A.)
3. For a discussion of how rigidly Lee used his service books in Greyfriars' see A BRIEF CONSIDERATION OF WHAT THE DIRECTORY REQUIRES IN REGARD TO THE MODE OF PRAYER IN PUBLIC WORSHIP, by An Observer, pp. 4 - 5.  
Also REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE PRESBYTERY OF EDINBURGH ON THE MODE AND ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP IN OLD GREYFRIARS CHURCH, EDINBURGH, pp. 5 - 7.  
Apparently the Lord's Supper was never administered according to the form given in the books published by Lee, or in any other common form. After the decision of the General Assembly in 1859, the use of a printed book was not resumed until 1863.

The use ~~in~~ church of a printed prayer book, which had no official sanction, came to be considered the most offensive of all Lee's innovations. In persisting in this practice, Lee alienated the support of many who sympathised with his views on the need for reform of worship.

The first edition of Lee's book consists of orders of service for Forenoon and Afternoon Service on three Sundays, with 108 pages of "prayers" extracted from the Psalter. At the end of 1858 Lee published, and proceeded to use in Greyfriars', a new edition of his book. This contains orders of service for four Sundays; forms for the Administration of the Sacraments; forms for Marriage, Burial, and "meditations", songs of praise, and prayers for Christian worship, extracted from the psalter and other parts of Scripture."

In 1863, Lee published A. PRESBYTERIAN PRAYER AND PSALM BOOK, or Aids to Devotion in Public and Social Worship. This volume contains the Forenoon and Afternoon Services of the 1858 book, with additions and alterations, also services for a fifth Sunday, and an order for the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

The selections from the prose psalter are omitted, also the orders for Baptism, Marriage and Burial. There are added selections from the metrical psalter, also paraphrases and hymns from the collection published by the General Assembly's Committee on Aids/

## /Aids to Devotion.

These books ~~were~~ successively used by Lee in public worship at Greyfriars,<sup>1</sup> although he reserved the right to make alterations, or additions to the printed forms as he wished. He always claimed that he did not wish to exclude extemporary prayer altogether. Until controversy rendered it inexpedient, his assistant also read the service from the printed order,<sup>1</sup> and when controversy had reached a climax, his friend, R. H. Story read from the 1863 book at a service in Greyfriars.<sup>2</sup>

Lee's prayer book came to be used in other parishes in Scotland.<sup>3</sup> There is evidence~~æ~~ that Lee hoped his book would be adopted, at least in substance, as the official book of the Church of Scotland.<sup>4</sup> He complained of the use made of it by the compilers of AIDS TO DEVOTION.<sup>5</sup>

This "reformed" worship in Greyfriars' Church meant that the Morning Service was largely devotional. Usually, there was no sermon, a short exposition was given and two Scripture passages were read. In the Afternoon Service, more space was given to preaching.<sup>6</sup> The congregation made responses and the prose psalms were chanted.<sup>7</sup> A harmonium was introduced in 1863, a pipe organ

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1. "Scotsman," 15. 3. 1867. cf. the admissions of Mr. Edgar, REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON MODE AND ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP IN OLD GREYFRIARS' CHURCH, EDINBURGH, pp. 12 - 15.
  2. "Scotsman," 18. 3. 1867.
  3. See Returns to Questionnaire on Public Worship, General Assembly Papers, 1890, where it is stated that six congregations use Lee's Marriage Service.
  4. "Scotsman," 30. 5. 1859. The title of the third edition would suggest that the volume was intended for wider use.
  5. "Scotsman," 30. 5. 1859.
  6. R. Lee, PRAYERS FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP, 1865, pp. XI - XII.
  7. R. H. Story, op. cit., vol. I. p. 337.

/organ in 1864. A marriage was first celebrated in church on 6th December, 1865. Mr. Ramsay, an elder, testified that, although many congregational meetings had been held, no objections to the mode of worship had been heard. "They," he commented, "were not a fashionable church, but a middle-class congregation."<sup>1.</sup> Every seat was taken.

The fact that the Greyfriars' congregation was practically decimated at the Disruption, may possibly explain the licence allowed to Lee to innovate. He was gathering together a new congregation, who, seemingly, both elders and people, stood by their minister in his liturgical opinions. This was made plain under cross-examination by a committee of Presbytery. After the decision of the Assembly of 1865, at a specially-called congregational meeting, Lee was assured of his congregation's continued<sup>2.</sup> and unanimous support.

It is important to note how the Presbytery of Edinburgh viewed these innovations. A special committee which was appointed to review the situation at Greyfriars', found that:

- "1. The practice has been introduced into Old Greyfriars' Church, of standing at the singing of the psalms, and of kneeling at prayer, of which the Presbytery disapprove as inconsistent with the immemorial usage of the Church.

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1. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MODE AND ORDER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP IN OLD GREYFRIARS' CHURCH, EDINBURGH, p. 9; "Edinburgh Evening Courant," 28. 12. 1865.  
 2. "Scotsman," 15. 3. 1867.

- "2. That the prayers are read by Dr. Lee.
- "3. That Dr. Lee uses, and others officiating for him in Old Greyfriars' Church use, a book, either in manuscript, or printed, entitled PRAYERS FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP, a copy of which was laid on the table of the Presbytery...
- "4. That the order of service contained in the said book, and in as far as it is admitted by Dr. Lee to be an exponent of the mode in which he conducts the devotions of the congregation, is at variance with the law and usage of this Church, in respect -

That he commences the service with reading verses of Scripture as an introduction to the devotional exercises.

That, after the confession of sins, certain passages of Scripture are read, styled "Comfortable words," and which may be regarded as occupying the place of what is termed 'the Absolution' in other liturgies.

That prayers are broken into fragments; and although Dr. Lee explains that when using them he gives a continuous form, yet from their structure, each short prayer being complete in itself, it is impossible to give them that real unity which is agreeable to the law and practice of the Church.

That in the use of this form, the people are directed to say 'Amen' audibly at the close of each prayer;

- all which being innovations unknown to this Church and unauthorised/

/unauthorised by it, the Presbytery agree to enjoin, as they hereby do enjoin, Dr. Lee to discontinue the same, and to conform in future, to the order and form of public worship, as established in the Directory of Public Worship, confirmed by Acts of Parliament, Assembly, and presently practised in the Church." <sup>1.</sup>

This became the finding of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, by 23 votes to 20.

Lee's comment on the attitude of the Church to his innovations is important: "There were, " he said, "other novelties, however, which appeared at the opening of the church in 1857 (and these of even a more startling kind,) which the Presbytery did not think fit to particularise, though they might have done so with even better reason. Such was the use, for the first time, of stained glass in the Kirk; and, worst of all, with figures, outraging the hereditary prejudice of Presbyterians against 'pictures in churches.' Not long after, as is well known, there was introduced in the Greyfriars', for the first time in the history of the Kirk, a musical instrument, first a harmonium and then an organ, the use of both which instruments has since become common, and is now tolerated and allowed by the Church Courts themselves. Now, what is to be particularly observed is this, that the General Assembly, /

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1. Minutes of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, 26. 4. 1859.

/Assembly, when the above list of charges was brought before it in 1859, refused to condemn or to notice any of them, except one - 'the reading of prayers from a certain book,' that is, it gave an indirect, but real, sanction to all the innovations except this one, and that in opposition to another motion proposing to condemn them in general. From this, it appears, that if the practices in question be 'innovations,' and as such 'transgressions of the laws and the constitution of the Church," the General Assembly has made itself guilty of them all, with one little exception; and even from that one it is at least doubtful whether subsequent Assemblies have not departed as we have already seen." <sup>1.</sup>

Lee's critics explained his congregation's unanimous support in two ways. They either argued that in a large city it is easy for malcontents to leave one congregation and to join another, <sup>2.</sup> or they argued that the Greyfriars' congregation was an eclectic one, composed largely of the theologically heterodox. <sup>3.</sup> One pamphleteer asserted that many Socinians found a congenial home there, and that at Lee's death, the congregation was in a weak state. <sup>4.</sup> Certainly, towards the end of Lee's ministry, Kirk Session meetings were rarely held, and the number of elders was considerably depleted.

"The Scotsman" warmly supported Lee, as did some within the Presbytery/

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1. R. Lee, LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ENSUING GENERAL ASSEMBLY, pp. 38 - 39.
  2. "Scotsman," 15. 3. 1867.
  3. See pamphlet, RECENT TENDENCIES IN GREYFRIARS' CHURCH; cf. remarks by Dr. Stevenson at Presbytery of Edinburgh, reported in "Scotsman," 15. 3. 1867.  
R. H. Story, op. cit., pp. 214 - 215, note.
  4. See RECENT TENDENCIES IN GREYFRIARS' CHURCH.



/Presbytery of Edinburgh. But both in Presbytery and Assembly, Lee alienated much support by his conduct as the controversy over innovations advanced. Dr. Wallace, who succeeded Lee in Greyfriars' was his chief supporter in the Presbytery. In the General Assembly, his most influential supporters were probably Norman Macleod and William Milligan. The Assembly was clearly divided over the issue. Lee was a clever speaker in debate. He was, in the earlier stages of the case, better informed than his opponents regarding the history of public worship in the Church of Scotland since the Reformation. Lee enjoyed a considerable popular following. The Greyfriars' case aroused more public interest than any other had done since the Disruption. During the debates, the public galleries were crowded, and there was much applause for Lee, but his sophistry, his flippancy, and his persistently equivocal interpretation of the 1859 ruling of the General Assembly, cost Lee the loss of the confidence of many who might have been speedily led to accept a broader understanding of the nature of public worship, than that which had been long established by use and wont.

The Greyfriars' case came before the Church at a time of transition. The Church was perilously weak as a result of the Disruption; her critics were outspoken; leaders like Drs. Hill, Pirie, and Cook were nearing the end of their leadership of the Church; new leaders such as Norman Macleod, Milligan, Story and Boyd were not yet in a position of influence in Church affairs which/

/which they later occupied.

It was likewise a time of transition in theological thought and scientific thought. The old was dry and dead. The new was struggling to be born.

In retrospect, one wonders if the Church ought not to have given a clearly defined ruling on innovations, or if the Directory ought not to have been revised and enforced, or if a partial liturgy ought not to have been framed. Caution swayed the fathers and brethren. Nothing, not even perhaps Episcopacy, was feared so much as another schism in the weakened Kirk. Some said that Lee's opponents' hands were tied because they did not know how best to deal with his case. Actually, the course which the Church took in the Greyfriars' case, left considerable liberty as to the form and the content of public worship to individual congregations, provided the peace and harmony of the congregation was not disturbed.

Thus, by false starts and mistakes, as well as by reasoned changes and by deliberate restorations of the practice of the Scottish Reformed Church of an earlier day, the worship of the Church was gradually transformed. The prejudice against prayers read from a book remained. Lee, by his conduct, rather increased this. But concern, especially among the younger clergy, continued to be expressed/

/expressed increasingly over the form of public worship. Various manuals of prayers for public worship appeared, which greatly changed the public, mostly un-read, prayers of ministers. Most important of all, partly as a reaction to Lee's temerity, some within the Church set their minds to a careful study of the history of Reformed worship and of the ancient liturgies. The fruits of such study were soon apparent in the publication by Sprogt and Leishman in 1868, of an annotated edition of KNOX'S LITURGY AND THE DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP, and in the work of the newly-formed Church Service Society. Shortly after this, the Church showed that she could exercise her new-found liberty in the ordering of worship, with discrimination and good taste, by the publication of THE SCOTTISH HYMNAL.

It is regrettable that the Greyfriars' controversy was made to turn almost entirely on the question of the legality of the innovations, and in particular, on the legality of prayers read at the Divine Service from a privately-printed book. It would have been wiser had the Church faced up then to the issue of the theological implications of the form of her public worship. For the issue then really was (few enlightened churchmen could have argued with honesty for a continuation of the status quo in the Church's public devotions) whether the Church should re-assert the Calvinist theory of worship, and alter her mode of conducting worship/

/worship in certain minor respects, to bring it fully into conformity with the Reformed ideal, or whether, breaking the bands of Calvinist orthodoxy, and in particular, rejecting the principle that nothing must be permitted in worship, which is not enjoined in Scripture, she should learn and borrow from other Christian communions and traditions, and adapt and modify her public worship to meet the needs, emotional, as well as intellectual, of her people, without any generally accepted guiding principle for accepting or rejecting innovations, except that of "seemliness," popular taste and changing fashion, tested rather loosely by their inoffensiveness in the light of the Word of God.

According to one of the ablest critics of innovations, the true Church of Scotland principle was that pure worship consists only of what God commands in Scripture, as the Westminster Confession, Knox's and Craig's Catechisms all assert, and the innovators had invented a new principle - that anything that is not specifically forbidden in Scripture, is permissible in public worship.<sup>1.</sup>

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1. J. Begg, ANARCHY IN WORSHIP, OR, RECENT INNOVATIONS.

b. Issues Raised by the Greyfriars' Case.

In order to understand the course which the revival of worship followed after the Greyfriars' case, it is necessary to understand the contemporary mind in its attitude to public worship at the time of this case. The events which followed were largely determined by the motives of the "innovators," and by the convictions of their opponents. We shall, therefore, look in some detail at the opinions on public worship which were expressed within the Church during the Greyfriars' controversy.

Lee did not confine his interests within the narrow compass of liturgical reform. He was a leading ecclesiastical statesman. Indeed, it was as an ecclesiastic that he argued for innovations in worship. He believed that the Church's worship was the most assailable point in her already weakened position. He wrote that the "unquestionable declension which did not commence with the last secession in 1843, but had been in progress long before, indicates that the National Church no longer satisfies the religious tastes and other demands of the population, and is gradually losing the character of a 'National Church.'"<sup>1</sup> Among the evils sapping away the strength of the Establishment, he set "first and chiefly, the form and manner of public worship."<sup>2</sup> Later, Lee complained that/

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1. R. Lee, THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 39.

2. Ibid, p. 45.

/that if had "done what many others had done, what some of his persecutors had done - if he had folded his hands, and emptied his church, he should have been let alone." <sup>1.</sup>

Speaking in support of Lee, Dr. Cunningham, Crieff, asserted that "unless the Church reflects the religious sentiments of the day, the Church is destined to perish." <sup>2.</sup>

The speeches at the breakfast at Slaney's, so fully reported by Story, are evidence that not only among the gentry, and in the columns of "The Scotsman," but also among the younger clergy, Lee had supporters who shared his apprehension regarding the possible peril to the Establishment, on account of her state of public worship. <sup>3.</sup> On this occasion, A. K. H. Boyd made the comment: "I believe most educated people in Scotland are clearly of his opinion, that by the natural reaction, that by the natural swing of the pendulum at the Reformation, we went perhaps just a little too far in stripping our service (applause) of those circumstances of dignity which might have been allowed to surround them; and although it may have been right, and still is, to protest against the terrible errors of the previously existing system, things are changed now."

Lee, as we have noted, believed that throughout the Church, sermons were generally of much better quality than prayers. For Lee, /

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1. "Scotsman," 15. 3. 1867.  
 2. "Scotsman," 25. 5. 1864.  
 3. "Scotsman," 6. 6. 1866;  
 R. H. Story, op. cit., vol. II, p. 286f.

/Lee, and for those who shared his views, prayers were usually all that they ought not to be - didactic, repetitive, tedious, linguistically bereft of good taste. While Lee was alive to the Church's obligation to provide appropriate and dignified worship in every parish, he was particularly concerned to provide public worship which would be acceptable to "educated hearers" and to "the upper classes," from among whose ranks there had already been desertions to Episcopacy, for liturgical, rather than doctrinal reasons.<sup>1.</sup>

According to Story, Lee's special sermons for the working classes, preached in 1860, "attracted large, crowded congregations."<sup>2.</sup> Lee felt keenly that the uninteresting services, rather than religious apathy, kept many of the "working-classes" away from worship. His own people responded with "Amen" at the conclusion of the prayers.<sup>3.</sup> His prayer book abounds in prayers which are capable of being said antiphonally.

Lee always held that he had no desire to force a liturgy upon the people,<sup>4.</sup> and that he would not have attempted to introduce his innovations/

1. cf. R. Lee, op. cit., pp. 50 - 51.
2. R. H. Story, op. cit., vol. II, p. 28.
3. Under examination by the Presbytery of Edinburgh, it was made clear that the congregation responded with "Amen" thrice only - at the close of each of the three prayers or groups of prayers in the service.  
REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE MODE AND ORDER OF  
PUBLIC WORSHIP IN OLD GREYFRIARS' CHURCH, EDINBURGH, P. 6.
4. R. H. Story, op. cit., vol. II, p. 80.

/innovations against the wishes of the people. He even admitted he probably would not have attempted to introduce them in another congregation. Lee opposed the suggestion that a new Directory should be framed, because he believed that the clergy should be left free to conduct public worship according to the stage of development at which the local church had arrived in understanding and appreciation of the principles of public worship.<sup>1.</sup>

Lee's opponents, on the other hand, saw in his innovations no strengthening of the position of the Established Church, but rather a grave threat to her influence. Part of the Church's strength, they reasoned, lay in the simplicity and purity of her worship. Her characteristic worship had been evolved through persecution and trial. It was established in the affections of the people by long use and wont. Moreover, the National Church must have uniformity of worship. Her ministers were bound by their Ordination vows, to maintain the traditional form of worship. If ministers of Kirk Sessions were to be allowed the liberty to make innovations, which Lee claimed, the result would be Independency, not Presbyterianism. Another split in the Church was dreaded. Many feared that questions such as the posture to be adopted at prayer and at praise, the use of read prayers, and the introduction of organs were potential causes of further unhappy secession.,<sup>2.</sup> especially/

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1. "Scotsman," 27. 5. 1859.

2. See speeches by Drs. Veitch and Muir, reported in "Scotsman," 1. 3. 1866.



/especially if these questions were associated with the demand for relaxed subscription to the CONFESSIO OF FAITH.

Stevenson, of St. George's, Edinburgh, even argued that uniformity in worship must be maintained because of the difficulty of the presentee who prayed extemporarily being accepted if he should follow a "prayer book man."<sup>1</sup>

"We have never," protested a contemporary preacher, "had an ignorant ministry, a loose and debauched people. Can England say so, or Germany, or some of the churches of dissent? At the time called Moderate in Scotland, the dissenting Presbyterians in Ireland had become Arians, the dissenting Presbyterians in England, Socinians: both sections had fallen from the truth of the Godhead. Those who know the state of England during the eighteenth century - a state marked by irreligion and dissoluteness of manners - know there was never such a state in Scotland. The German churches became notorious for their infidelity, their ministers and their divines for their unblushing scepticism... comparing the Church of Scotland with other churches, I do say it stands pre-eminent for purity and simplicity... I see no equal spiritual organisation to this - none which so effectively attains the Church's great end, the purity of faith, the simple representation of Christ to the heart and conscience, unencumbered by vain ceremonies, superstitious/

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1. "Daily Review," 2. 5. 1866.

/superstitious errors and blundering delusions. There are many indeed to whom her simplicity is an offence, and wearied with it, they are endeavouring to foster changes foreign to her nature, and in direct contradiction to her history. They want change of postures and use of liturgies. Postures are in themselves indifferent, but it always argues a vain, light, and conceited mind, to innovate in such matters against established use and sanctioned custom. The attempt is not only wrong in itself, but it is a sign that the mind is drifting from the greatness of Christian truth, into a whirlpool of trifles. The Church of Scotland has always opposed the public use of a liturgy. It prescribed standing at prayer for the best reasons - the usage of the first Christians."<sup>1</sup>

Lee denied the existence of the uniformity in public worship which his opponents claimed to defend. "I have been asked," he said, "to return to the beautiful and simple worship of our Church. The Church has no worship. The worship of this Church may be beautiful and simple, but that does not imply that the worship in the next church is either beautiful or simple. The worship is what the individual is able to make it, and at this moment, as you know, you have 1200 different worships - some of them simple, some of/

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1. John Macrae, Minister of Hawick: SERMON PREACHED AT THE OPENING OF HOPEKIRK PARISH CHURCH, 9. 8. 1863, pp. 16 - 18.

/of them beautiful - I hope many both the one and the other - but a vast number notoriously not beautiful, and those who think them simple must themselves be exceedingly simple." <sup>1.</sup> He was bold enough to claim that "the only church where a man knows where he is is Greyfriars.' If he goes to Liberton, he does not know whether he is within an Established church or within a Dissenting meeting house. How can he tell ? You talk of uniformity by which you may be known or distinguished. You are not distinguished from any Presbyterian dissenters in any way. You have no characteristic forms or usages which point you out as an Established Church from any church." <sup>2.</sup>

Sheriff Arkley, commenting on the ruling of the 1859 Assembly, that Lee be enjoined to "discontinue the use of the book in question in the services of his church, and to conform in offering up prayer, to the present ordinary practice of the Church," made the point that the situation must remain vague until the Church <sup>3.</sup> defined what it meant by uniformity of worship.

However, the careful and impartial report made to the General Assembly in 1864 by the specially-appointed Committee on Innovations in Public Worship, really discredited Lee's contentions regarding the lack of uniformity. There was a marked degree of uniformity in the worship of the parish churches of Scotland, prior to 1860.

From/

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1. "Scotsman," 15. 3. 1867.  
 2. "Scotsman," 1. 3. 1866.  
 3. "Daily Scotsman," 1. 6. 1858.

/From parish to parish, the services might vary considerably in liturgical merit, but the chief characteristics of the service varied little. The introduction of stained glass windows, the use of an organ, and prayers read from a privately-published book, which was very different in form from KNOX'S LITURGY, were singular departures from the type of worship which had been established by use and wont, and which was familiar to every Scot.

Lee's argument was that the DIRECTORY was the only existing law on public worship in the Church, that it nowhere forbade read prayer, and that in his innovations, he was only obeying its injunctions, instead of flouting them, as his fellow clergy habitually did. He refused to recognise the sanction of use and wont. He said he would comply with any new Directory, or with any constitutionally-framed enactments of the General Assembly. (The 1864 Act of Assembly on Innovations, he considered to be unconstitutional and invalid.)

In his final defence, Lee's main argument was that the 1859 General Assembly had sanctioned innovations by their ruling, which forbade him to use his service book in church, but by its silence, seemed to permit his other innovations, and that there were no laws in the Church forbidding the public reading of prayers. He held that prayers had long been read in the Church, and that the prayer book was in the hands of the people. Of the DIRECTORY, he/

/he said that it nowhere prohibits the reading of prayers, that the Westminster Divines held the reading of prayers to be permissible, and that anyhow, the DIRECTORY "cannot be supposed to have now, if indeed it ever had, any legal authority."<sup>1</sup> He concluded that there was no evidence that this "famous document ever produced any effect whatsoever upon the actual modes of conducting public worship in the Kirk."<sup>2</sup>

Lee, however, did not return with consistency to the DIRECTORY, whose authority he the one minute invoked, and the next repudiated. He never, for example, restored public censure; he published prayers for use at the grave. In invoking its authority, in not expressly forbidding the reading of prayers, he did not frankly face up to the difference between a minister writing and reading from manuscript, prayers specially prepared for a particular occasion, and a minister's publishing and placing in the hands of the people, a service book, without the sanction of the General Assembly. Of the former practice, there were precedents, of the latter, none.

Before the 1864 Report on Innovations was made to the Assembly, schedules were sent out to all Presbyteries, 79 out of 84 of which sent in replies. This report said that: "the uniformity in the mode/

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1. R. Lee, A LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ENSUING GENERAL ASSEMBLY, p. 23.
  2. Ibid, p. 23.

/mode of administering public worship in the congregations of the Church is very striking. With one exception, in the metropolis, and one or two partial exceptions in the provinces, there is really no difference that calls for an imadversion or remark. In many instances, ministers exercise that discretion in regard to the order of the service in the House of God, which the DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP allows when the edification or convenience of their hearers is in question. Slight changes in the order observed are to be found even in the same neighbourhood, and occasionally, the service is shortened by the <sup>o</sup>admission of one or more parts. But in general, almost universally, the order is as follows - Praise, Prayer, Reading of Scripture, Praise, Prayer, Lecture or Sermon, Prayer, Praise, Benediction.<sup>1.</sup>"

The report stressed the great uniformity existing in the mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper. It went on to comment that, apart from Greyfriars' Church, where printed forms of prayer were in use, "in one church in the Presbytery of Glasgow, which has lately been erected into a parish church, the minister reports that manuscript forms are used for certain portions of the prayers. In the Presbytery of Kelso, it is in like manner reported that in one church, manuscript is partly used. From every quarter, there is/

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1. REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON INNOVATIONS IN PUBLIC WORSHIP TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, 25. 5. 1864.

/is the same return, 'no printed or written form of prayer in use.'" <sup>1.</sup>

The Lord's Prayer was generally used in worship, but in some churches, only occasionally, and in some, never.

Nevertheless, the spirit of change was abroad, despite this "uniformity." The report admitted that within the last few years, changes of posture had taken place. Some twenty to thirty congregations now stood to sing, and sat or "bent forward" to pray, and that exposition was taking the place of lecturing. In one church "the new hymns which have once and again been subjected to the notice of the General Assembly are used in public worship and.. ~~that~~ the congregation stand when they are employed."

Lee's critics were, on the whole, more realistic than he was in their interpretation of the contemporary situation regarding public worship in the Church of Scotland. It is true that wild and foolish charges were made against him, of turning the people to Episcopacy, or even to Popery. Obstinacy, ignorance and prejudice, inspired at times the conduct of some of his critics. Mr. Macpherson, of St. Luke's, Edinburgh, complained that the Synod had now "a full-blown, though very feeble, travesty of Anglican forms to dispose of. Lessons, collects, genuflections, and cantillations, counter-reading and responses - why, the fact was, the parish church of Old Greyfriars' was wrecked on form, and high and dry on the shifting sands of a Lee-shore... a bastard/

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1. Ibid.

/bastard Episcopacy could never be tolerated in the Established Church in Scotland." <sup>1.</sup>

Dr. Muir, of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, who had been instrumental in bringing Lee to Greyfriars', who later became sufficiently alienated from him to accuse him of being inspired by Satan, <sup>2.</sup> prophesied that Lee's innovations would lead along a well-trodden path, first to Episcopacy, and then to Rome. <sup>3.</sup>

Lee was in the pay of neither Canterbury nor of Rome, but he did miscalculate the prejudice of the Scottish people against read prayers, and he did under-estimate the binding power of what had been established by use and wont as the practice of the Church in public worship. Even if his interpretation of the use made of THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER until 1645, even if his understanding of the DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP, even if his reading of subsequent Acts of the General Assembly, were all granted as correct, he would be found to have erred greatly in his estimation of the importance of these two points.

Lee's critics were right when they said that his proper course would have been to overture the General Assembly on public worship, instead of publishing a volume of prayers, which, even if it could be used without offence in Greyfriars', had no official sanction, and no great liturgical merit. Many indeed, said that if the Church was to adopt a liturgy, she ought to adopt the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. <sup>4.</sup>

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1. "Daily Review," 2. 5. 1866.

2. "Edinburgh Evening Courant," 28. 12. 1865.

3. "Scotsman," 1. 6. 1858.

4. cf. remarks by Dr. Veitch, in the Presbytery of Edinburgh,



Lee's complaint was that extemporary prayer, which at one time was permissible, was now being made obligatory.<sup>1.</sup> His opponents showed a better understanding of the temper of the people when they urged that what was required was "not change, but improvement and advance," when they advised that ministers should not rush to prepare prayer books for themselves (whether in manuscript or in print) and use them surreptitiously or openly, as and when they dared, but should realise the "importance of ministers exercising gifts of prayer with all their hearts."<sup>2.</sup>

Lee, of course, had no wish to suppress extemporary prayer, but refused to admit the place which it had come to occupy in the devotional life of the Scottish people. He argued that as read sermons had come to be accepted, so read prayers would be accepted,<sup>3.</sup> and that the latter were more natural than the former.<sup>4.</sup> His critics admitted Lee's own gifts in extemporary prayer, saying that he, among all his clerical brethren, had least need of the assistance of printed prayers.<sup>5.</sup> They urged him to return to his former mode of conducting public worship in Greyfriars.<sup>6.</sup>

Lee, on the other hand, weakened his case by foolish pleas regarding his need to read prayers. He on several occasions spoke with disparagement of free prayer.<sup>7.</sup>

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1. R. Lee, LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ENSUING GENERAL ASSEMBLY, pp. 9 - 14.
  2. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INNOVATIONS IN PUBLIC WORSHIP, 1864.
  3. R. H. Lee, Letter, etc., p. 20.
  4. "Scotsman," 25. 6. 1864.
  5. "Scotsman," 15. 3. 1867.
  6. "Scotsman," 14. 2. 1867.
  7. cf. Lee, THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, Chapter VII.

He felt he was like most ministers in their "extemporary harangues," preaching to the people, not praying, and that "the using of extemporary prayer was the easiest way in the world - any man but a fool could do it in a certain way. But the extemporary prayer of other people no more satisfied him than his own did." <sup>1.</sup>

"The Scotsman" lent its support to Lee's views. In reviewing Lee's reply to a hostile pamphlet, <sup>2.</sup> which had made much of inspiration in free prayer, "The Scotsman" commented as follows: "Now, really, we thought that this inspiration of ministers - this "special" inspiration - is a tenet which had long since retired for shelter to the mountain fastnesses of the Free Presbytery of Tongue, of whose enlightened views the public has recently had startling specimens; but it would appear that in this we ~~are~~ mistaken, for here it is led forth ~~and~~ triumph and paraded as the ground of a grave charge against one of our most popular clergymen in the broad daylight of Modern Athens. But if the Church believes with "Observer," that this is clearly taught in the DIRECTORY, then Dr. Lee must not stand alone under accusation, for it cannot be denied that a very large number of the ministers of our Church, including almost all her ablest preachers, instead of trusting to this/

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1. "Scotsman," 14. 2. 1867.

2. AN EXAMINATION OF A SPEECH DELIVERED BY DR. LEE IN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF INNOVATION IN PUBLIC WORSHIP; REFORM, NOT INNOVATION: DEFENCE OF REV. DR. LEE TO THE EXAMINATION OF HIS SPEECH BY AN OBSERVER.

/this special inspiration, make invariable use of forms of prayer carefully prepared or selected beforehand, and then committed to memory. Some have as many forms as Dr. Lee, some more and others might be mentioned who have gone on for the last forty years repeating the same forms Sabbath after Sabbath, until every herd-boy in the parish can screech them off like an old song." <sup>1.</sup>

Nonetheless, the Scots knew what they wanted in the way of public prayer. They recognised true prayer and its counterfeit.

The traditional method of appointing ministers to vacant parishes entailed the presentee's preaching and praying before the congregation, who readily expressed their opinion of his conduct of the service.

Even in the General Assembly, in which the Greyfriars' case first came up, there was heard a case of objection to a presentee, which involved objection to his prayers - "His manner," it was complained, "in prayer, was not such as to impress me with devotional feelings. His prayers wanted warmth of expression in words and delivery. His prayers did not give the idea of fullness or satisfaction,... He did not pray for the parish or the spiritual and temporal welfare of the people, nor in a special and urgent manner for the influence of the Spirit, nor for the welfare of the Universal Church of Christ." <sup>2.</sup>

Another complainer in the same case asserted: "I was not satisfied with his services; I derived no benefit from them. As to his prayers, it is not likely they were offered up with earnestness and/

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1. "Scotsman," 28. 4. 1859.

2. THE KILDALTON CASE, p. 28. (General Assembly Papers, 1859.)

And solemnity, for he himself did not seem to be impressed with what he said. What does not come from the heart cannot reach the heart."<sup>1.</sup>

Thirty years later, despite great changes in the public worship of the Church of Scotland, the number of ministers whom<sup>2.</sup> read their prayers, in<sup>#</sup> whole or in part, was still negligibly small.

Lee's innovations did not lead to greater uniformity in the worship of the Church. The reverse happened. There was greater diversity than ever before.<sup>3.</sup> This cannot, of course, be blamed entirely on Lee. It resulted from the manner in which the Church handled Lee's case.

Although Lee argued that KNOX'S LITURGY was used as a prayer book, rather than as a directory, until 1645, he was severe in his criticisms of its liturgical qualities.<sup>4.</sup> But Dr. Muir's criticism of Lee's own prayer book was better merited. He described it as a form of worship "totally alien from the mind and temper of the people of Scotland."<sup>5.</sup> The weakest point in Lee's position was his plea that he had literally obeyed the injunction of the 1859 Assembly, when he ceased to read his prayers from his book, but continued to read the same prayers from a manuscript.

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1. Ibid, p. 40.

2. See REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON THE PROPER CONDUCT OF PUBLIC WORSHIP AND THE SACRAMENTS, 1890.

3. Ibid.

4. "Scotsman," 27. 4. 1859.

5. "Scotsman," 27. 4. 1859.

Lee admitted that a liturgy is a confession of faith to all who join in it.<sup>1.</sup> He protested that he was aware of the close relationship between liturgy and doctrine, although his critics accused him of impatience with doctrinal restraint. Certainly he envisaged a liturgy which would be the expression of the faith of the Church at present, rather than the credal statement of past ages. For this reason,<sup>2.</sup> he deprecated borrowing prayers from the ancient liturgies, or even too full a use of early Reformed sources. He viewed with disfavour the return of the Dissenters to the Establishment, lest this should mean loss of some doctrinal freedom.

Lee was on sound ground, when he objected to the conduct of public worship being left so much to the discretion of the individual minister. "In our worship," he said, "the Church is not in any way represented; it is neither visible nor audible in any sense or to any degree. The minister is all in all. He alone appears; he does, or directs, everything. Not only is the sermon the minister's discourse, as it should be, but the prayers are the minister's prayers; the psalms which are sung and the lessons which are read, (if any be read), are those which he selects; the Sacraments are administered in the manner and with the language he chooses: so that/

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1. R. Lee, THE REFORM OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 184.
2. R. Lee, op. cit., p. 187.

/that the Church has no function, authority, or operation at all in the business of public worship. If the minister happens to be a person distinguished for talents, acquirements, eloquence or taste, these distinctions do not in any way redound to the aggrandizement or credit of the Church, but rather the contrary: for the people naturally consider such a person as an exception to the average of his brethren; so that, instead of being attached to the Church, they are rather separated from it, by his particular gifts. Accordingly, when ministers secede, the bulk of their congregations naturally secede with them.<sup>1</sup> among us the choice of our minister is indeed the choice of the Church. In liturgical communities, the worship is the same, whoever may be the minister; that is, the Church continues, one and the same, for the worship is the essential element of the Church; but among us it is quite otherwise - everything depends upon the minister. He is all for doctrine, and worship, and everything. No wonder we feel an interest in the appointment of ministers, which others can neither feel nor comprehend."<sup>1</sup>

Lee also contended that the clergy formerly did all the things which he, in his time, claimed the right to do without<sup>2</sup> perjuring his Ordination oath. He quoted changes in public worship, which had crept in without official authority,<sup>3</sup> ending up with the assertion/

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1. R. Lee, op. cit., pp. 185 - 186.

2. Ibid, p. 21.

3. Ibid, p. 29f.

/assertion: "the pulpit itself is an innovation borrowed from the theatre."<sup>1.</sup>

These unauthorised changes he listed as:

1. Neglect of reading the Scriptures in public worship.
2. Singing only fragments of the psalms.
3. Neglect of reading the Lord's Prayer.
4. Failure of the people to respond "Amen."
5. Failure to fast.

Although Lee reasoned that the Synagogue and its worship were of purely human invention, and could have no authority in the Christian Church, "except in so far as we may think fit to copy them,"<sup>2.</sup> he did not advocate, or endeavour to put into practice, the weekly celebration of the Eucharist, as being the Divinely appointed order for Christian worship, but tended rather to invoke the authority of the early Church, only when it could be conveniently quoted as supporting his own innovations.

Lee's critics constantly reiterated that they were contending for simplicity and uniformity in worship, and that they were determined to resist the encroachment of Episcopacy in the Church of Scotland.

They were concerned, lest innovations in worship might disturb the peace of the Church. They feared another secession from her ranks.<sup>3.</sup> /

1. Ibid, p. 116.

2. Ibid, p. 123.

3. See the debate on Innovations in the General Assembly, 1864.

They held that some of the points involved in the innovations were trifling in the extreme,<sup>1.</sup> and that to make too much of them was to put form before spirituality in worship.<sup>2.</sup>

The Committee on Innovations in Public Worship (1864) recommended that the posture adopted at prayer and at praise was not of sufficient importance to merit legislation. Standing or kneeling at prayer were, for many, trifles, if the heart of the suppliant was right.<sup>3.</sup>

They saw in the Greyfriars' case, a breach of Ordination vows, and a contravention of the laws of the Church. They detected in the situation in Greyfriars' a tendency to congregationalism.<sup>4.</sup>

They feared that an extension of the licence claimed by Lee would shake the Church to its foundations.<sup>5.</sup>

Some have made out that Lee was a courageous hero, who, in the face of obstinacy, prejudice, and ignorance, asserted the right to read prayers at public worship, and opened up the way for changes in worship which were more than due in the Church of Scotland.<sup>6.</sup>

While there is much truth in this interpretation of the Greyfriars' case, /

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1. cf. remarks by Drs. Muir and Veitch, "Scotsman," 1. 3. 1866; J. Macrae, op. cit., 9. 8. 1863.
  2. R. H. Story, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 152 - 153.
  3. "Scotsman," 1. 6. 1858.
  4. General Assembly debates, 1858, 1859; See "Daily Scotsman," 1. 6. 1858, and "Scotsman," 26. 5. 1859.
  5. cf. remarks made by Mr. Stewart and Dr. Veitch, "Scotsman," 1. 3. 1866.
  6. cf. Millar Patrick, in MANUAL OF CHURCH PRAISE, pp. 49 - 50.



case, there are other aspects of the case which preclude our reducing the facts to such simple terms.

Lee's opponents were contending for some important, fundamental points. There is little doubt that, if Lee's death had not left the Greyfriars' case suspended and undecided, the final decision would have gone against Lee. The chief points in the case against Lee were:

1. That the public worship of the Church must be regulated through her courts, so that a certain minimum of uniformity of worship, and the maximum purity of doctrine be preserved.
2. That THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER was never more than a discretionary liturgy, and
3. That the DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP is opposed to set forms of prayer.

They argued that, while The Directory was not specifically made binding on the Church in 1693, when it was laid down merely that "the uniformity of worship, and of the administration of all public worship and ordinances within this Church, be observed by all the said ministers and preachers as the same are at present performed and allowed therein or shall <sup>be</sup> hereafter declared by the authority of the same," any liberty then allowed had long since<sup>1.</sup> been exhausted.

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1. cf. debate on Innovations, General Assembly, 1864.

If, they felt, ministers were not to be compelled to keep their Ordination vows, no one could foresee where innovations might end. "We have no guarantee that innovations are not to be extended and multiplied. Why should they stop at kneeling at prayer, etc., before degenerating into symbolism and ritualism? To show how necessary it is that some steps should be taken in the matter, it was only reported to me the other day that a church within our bounds was considering whether they should have an embroidered altar-cloth, and for anything I know, they cannot stop short at such a point, because we shall have other gentlemen consulting their own tastes, and we do not know what bastard and mongrel alterations may be attempted. In reference to the whole matter, I could use readily the words of Scripture, 'Surely, an enemy hath done this.'"<sup>1.</sup>

Such fears were not without some justification. The day was to come when "Ave Maria" would be chosen as a suitable organ voluntary at the opening of the Thistle Chapel in St. Giles' Cathedral,<sup>2.</sup> and a plain country kirk, built in 1842, would be made "pretty" by the introduction of a brass crucifix, "electric candles," and a "children's corner" with a statuette of Christ,<sup>3.</sup> and when a minister of the Church of Scotland would advocate the Exposition of the Consecrated BREAD/

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1. Dr. Nisbet, quoted by R. H. Story, op. cit., vol. II, p. 156.
  2. ORDER OF SERVICE FOR THE DEDICATION OF THE THISTLE CHAPEL.
  3. Rhynd Parish Church.

/BREAD on the Holy Table at the time of Divine Service, and  
 apart from the administration of Holy Communion,<sup>1.</sup>

The manner in which the Church dealt with the innovations at Greyfriars' Church opened the sluice gates. Then a powerful, swift-flowing stream flowed through the whole field of the Church's public worship, causing plants to grow which formerly were not found there, and which were easily recognisable as having been transplanted from elsewhere. The changes which ensued in the Church's worship, were, in some cases, a return to the practice of the Reformed Scottish Church of an earlier period, in some cases a return to the practice of the Reformers or of the early Church, in some, a deliberate "aping" of Anglicanism, and in some an endeavour to revive Catholic principles within the Church of Scotland. Many of the subsequent "innovators" did not ask themselves, amid an eagerness to borrow, whether they were not in danger of producing a "mongrel" type of worship.

It must not be thought that the General Assembly showed a complete lack of wisdom in its handling of Lee's case. It showed considerable astuteness. The situation was difficult. Some toleration within fairly broad limits was called for. Too much strictness would have alienated many of the younger clergy, too much leniency would have offended the older men. The Church saw that/

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1. D. H. Hislop, OUR HERITAGE IN PUBLIC WORSHIP, p. 255.

/that change in worship must come, and probably realised that she was feeling her way in the matter. The principle of toleration was fundamental in the life of the post-Disruption Church of Scotland.

The General Assembly counselled wisely, when it enjoined that:

- 1st "the General Assembly earnestly and solemnly warn all members of the Church against the rash adoption of ~~c~~changes in the order and form of public worship, as recommended in the DIRECTORY, confirmed by Acts of Assembly, and hitherto practised in this Church."
- 2nd "the General Assembly in conformity with the laws of the Church and the enactments of Acts of Parliament, do expressly enjoin all Presbyteries, where such innovations are represented to them as having taken place, to inquire into the means assigned for them, and to take with due prudence and discretion such a course as seems to be most advisable for restoring uniformity and preventing division in the Church."<sup>1.</sup>

Unfortunately, a full enquiry was never made as to ~~the~~ causes of innovations, by any official committee of the Assembly. Such an enquiry might have resulted in the Assembly's guiding and controlling the movement for reform of public worship, so that the movement would have been kept on the right lines.

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1. "Daily Scotsman," 1. 6. 1858.

Lee, of course, argued that absolute uniformity of worship was impossible in the Church of Scotland, and that rigid uniformity was undesirable under the Presbyterian system.<sup>1</sup> But refusal to interfere with innovations, provided they did not transgress the teaching of Scripture, and the peace of the local church was left undisturbed, was not by itself sufficient as a controlling and guiding principle. All the changes were not advances. Later, devout Scottish churchmen regretted the substitution of sitting instead of standing or kneeling at prayer, the administration of Holy Communion to the people in their pews and the abolition of the practice of their coming up, one by one, to sit at the Holy Table, and the building of chancels and the separation of the Holy Table from the pulpit, thus destroying the symbolism of the close proximity of Word and Sacrament in Reformed worship.

Discussion as to the manner in which KNOX'S LITURGY was used in the Church until the publication of the DIRECTORY FOR PUBLIC WORSHIP was an important factor in the revival of worship. This question was brought into the foreground by the Greyfriars' case. Lee's critics saw in the book nothing more than a general directory. This view was also forcibly expressed by the Committee on Innovations in Public Worship, which reported to the Assembly that "it would be straining the Acts of the Assembly above referred/

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1. R. Lee, LETTER TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ENSUING GENERAL ASSEMBLY, pp. 41 and 43.

/referred to, however, to represent them as designed to make the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER more than a General Directory, or as intended to restrict ordained ministers, at least, to the rigid observance of minute regulations, or the use of the ipsissima verba of its form of prayer, and it would be contrary to the whole tenor and spirit of the book and the known sentiments of its framer. So far, then, as the Church of Scotland is concerned, there is little foundation for the statement which has recently been made, that the practices of the <sup>old</sup> ~~other~~ Presbyterianism were very materially different from those of their successors: still less for the statement, since put forth, that the idea of extemporaneous prayer as an appropriate vehicle of public devotion was one quite unknown to the Reformation. What distinguished our Reformers from their successors and from the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, was, not that the former disapproved of, or curtailed, free prayer, while the latter advocated and encouraged it, but the former retained, in their BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, a variety of forms, not only as models, but also as aids to the officiating minister, while the latter put their DIRECTORY into such a shape, that even the 'help and furniture' it provided, required the exercise of thought, and care on the part of the minister to adapt it for use." <sup>1.</sup>

"We are," protested Dr. Veitch, of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, a leading/

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1. REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON INNOVATIONS IN PUBLIC WORSHIP.

/leading opponent of innovations, "to suppose that the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER was regularly read in all the churches, till perhaps superseded by the DIRECTORY; and thus are we to forget that like the office of READERS, it was only a temporary expedient to aid the devotions of the newly-reformed Church, until it should be supplied with duly qualified MINISTERS; that its express terms reserved freedom to use it or not; and that there is no historical evidence, but rather the contrary, to show its having been generally read by Ministers. Whatever, besides, may be alleged with regard to the worship, of the church before the DIRECTORY, this one thing is incontrovertible, that from 1638, and downwards to the present day, the worship of the Church of Scotland, alike under Prelacy and Presbytery, has been conducted by free prayer without the use of written or printed forms."<sup>1.</sup>

There was widespread agreement that the DIRECTORY did not permit the use of read prayers, much less the use of a printed book of prayers, in any particular congregation. In 1865, the Procurator of the Church said that, after fifty years, the changes in posture in public worship then coming in, would likely have become law, but that the use of a prayer book was illegal.<sup>2.</sup>

In 1864, Dr. Bisset declared in the Assembly "this posture matter/

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1. J. Veitch, STATEMENT CONCERNING INNOVATIONS AS NOW ATTEMPTED IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, pp. 5 - 6.
  2. "Scotsman," 24. 5. 1865.

/matter ' should be left to the Kirk Session to decide, and that only the publication of a book of prayers for public worship and the reading of them in church was a breach of the DIRECTORY. He moved that Lee be enjoined to 'discontinue the use of the book in question, and to conform in offering up prayer to the present practice of the Church!' <sup>1.</sup> With this view, Principal Tulloch concurred. He said that "the use of a printed book in the public service of the Church was at variance with the law perhaps, certainly with the usage of the Church, and most unquestionably with the spirit of the DIRECTORY. It appeared to him that Dr. Lee had to some extent injured his case by founding so much in the mere legal viewpoint." <sup>2.</sup> Both Bisset and Tulloch were sympathetic to reform in worship. Tulloch, indeed, said he was glad that Lee's prayers did not conform to the DIRECTORY, which was the only law of the Church in the matter, because Lee had asserted the principle of the independence of each minister in the worship, but had transgressed in the use of a printed book. <sup>3.</sup>

It does not appear to have occurred to Lee's opponents that the Church could acceptably combine the use of read and free prayer, or that there was precedent for this practice at the present time in her own tradition. It was too readily assumed that even the admission of/

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1. "Scotsman," 25. 5. 1865.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.



/of read prayers to the Divine Service, would mean the decay or the death of free prayer. In support of this attitude, the DIRECTORY was regularly quoted. "The very idea of the DIRECTORY is opposed to a service book, and to formality in prayer; it merely shows the way, that it may afford those who require it some help and furniture, but it leaves us freely to follow it as occasion may require... the very evil against which the DIRESTORY would guard us has been stringly pleaded as a valid reason for the use of written forms; as if, on account of the humiliating default of certain ministers, who, through deadness and secularity of spirit, feel unable to pray, the Church were unreasonably called on to reduce the free and fervent out-pouring of her supplication<sup>1</sup> to the rigid formality of a service-book."

"Observer" published a thorough-going pamphlet,<sup>2</sup> which argued that the DIRECTORY requires "unread prayer rather than extempore prayer, for the latter word may be taken in the sense of unpremeditated prayer; and certainly the DIRECTORY does not require this, but rather requires the contrary." He sought to prove that free prayer was jealously guarded in the Church of Scotland, from the earliest days of the Reformation, and that the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, which/

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1. Dr. Veitch, op. cit., pp. 6 - 7.

2. A BRIEF CONSIDERATION OF WHAT THE DIRECTORY REQUIRES IN REGARD TO THE MODE OF CONDUCTING PUBLIC WORSHIP.

/which was a concession to weaker brethren, was repealed because it repealed itself by disuse, long before 1645.

Appeals to the DIRECTORY did not carry much weight. It was an open question how far the document was the law of the Church in public worship; its injunctions had long, in some cases, been transgressed; the worship of the Church by use and wont and by present practice, did not conform to its model in any detail.

The fact is, the Church of Scotland since the Reformation had never demanded the rigid conformity with her standards of worship which she had insisted on with regard to her standards of doctrine.

There must always have existed a certain freedom of worship. That such a freedom should be preserved, even enlarged, that innovations within reasonable limits should be permitted, was the viewpoint of the majority of the Church's Ministers and Elders, is reflected in the proceedings of the General Assembly during Lee's case, and subsequently.

Tulloch expressed this attitude discerningly, when in 1859 he said that the Presbytery of Edinburgh had erred in failing to see that the aim of the DIRECTORY is reasonable uniformity, with independence for the individual minister. He urged that the hasty legislation should be avoided, because "he believed there was an earnest Christian feeling springing up that there was a fair scope for/

/for improvement in the services of the Church, and he thought that instead of brow-beating and checking that feeling, the Church should rather see that it assumed a proper and decent and Scriptural expression." <sup>1.</sup>

To desire freedom for improvement in public worship was a different thing from acquiescing in Lee's conduct, or in accepting his arguments for change, or admiring his prayer book.

The comment of a contemporary is interesting: "The writer, for one, thoroughly disliked Dr. Lee's book; not the less that he has heard it read in church in the peculiar tones in which one might read out a newspaper. The genuine liturgical flow was quite lacking in most of Dr. Lee's prayers, which were to a considerable degree original. They were likewise, very naturally, flavoured with Dr. Lee's theology, which was more advanced than ~~was~~ in these days common." <sup>2.</sup>

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1. "Daily Scotsman," 26. 5. 1859.

2. A. K. H. Boyd, op, cit., p. 219.

c. On the Use of KNOX'S LITURGY.

The Greyfriars' case started or re-opened a long discussion as to the use made of the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER by Readers and Ministers within the Church, in the period 1564 - 1645. In particular, both the opponents and the defenders of read prayers in public worship, based their cases upon their own interpretation of the evidence extant, as to how closely this book was adhered to in the public worship of that period. Neither party was unbiassed in its interpretation of what has remained a vexed question.

Certainly, there was nothing in the early Scottish Reformed tradition which condemned a prayer book outright, or permitted read prayers merely as a concession to the exigencies of the time, and until clergy were sufficiently numerous and well-trained (as was argued by Lee's critics.)

Behind the Scottish tradition lay Calvin's ideal of a set form of worship, in which there was scope for free prayer.<sup>1.</sup> Knox's GENEVAN SERVICE BOOK was drawn up for a congregation which was intelligent and well-grounded in the Reformed teaching, and which did not lack an educated pastor. Also, the rubrics in the ORDER OF THE GENERAL FAST, drawn up by Knox and Craig, by/

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1. See G. W. Sprott, THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, 1868, pp. 177 - 191.

/by order of the Assembly in 1565-6, show us plainly that Knox  
 was not opposed to set forms.<sup>1.</sup>

Moreover, it has been established that the SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI was used, both publicly and privately, in Scotland, before, and even after 1560, although it was most probably used, not as a rigid liturgy, but in a selective, discretionary manner.<sup>2.</sup>

Evidence has been gathered which suggests that ministers were not so free to depart from KNOX'S LITURGY, as was frequently supposed.<sup>3.</sup>

As it has been stated recently: "It would seem that, even for ministers, the structure of the service, the substance of each part of it, and even the words of some prayers, were intended to be invariable. In 1563 the privy council defined public worship as the 'preaching of the Word of God, ministration of the Sacraments, and reading of common prayers.' The office of a Reader, in particular, was to read the 'common prayers,' and the book from which he read was sometimes called his 'prayer book.' Moreover, in the language of KNOX'S LITURGY there can be detected here and there the influence of the PRAYER BOOK... Further, the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER included some 'set forms' which were familiar enough to Anglicans, but which became abhorrent to later generations - the/

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1. cf. W. McMillan, THE WORSHIP OF THE REFORMED CHURCH, 1550-1638, p. 56.
  2. W. McMillan, op. cit, pp. 35-38 and 43;  
 R. H. Story, Reformed Ritual, p. 12.  
 G. Donaldson, THE MAKING OF THE SCOTTISH LITURGY OF 1637, p. 18f.
  3. See W. McMillan, op. cit., pp. 63-65.

/the Lord's Prayer (and in the PRAYER BOOK version, not that of the Genevan Bible); the Apostles' Creed (which was repeated in the Sunday Morning Service, and at Baptism); and the Doxology (which was sung at the end of the metrical psalms). In some editions, the metrical psalter which was printed with the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, had appended to it metrical versions of the Veni Creator, the Nunc Dimittis, and 'the Song of the Blessed Marie, called Magnificat,' each with its tune. The opening of the Sunday Morning Service with the reading - or perhaps the singing - of the Commandments, though not prescribed in the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, was not unknown. It is clear that the Scots of that period were familiar with many things which became strange or unknown to their descendents, and that their worship had affinities with PRAYER BOOK services." <sup>1.</sup>

Dr. Donaldson is at pains to point out the similarity in structure in the earlier worship of the Reformed Churches in England and in Scotland. In Scotland, the "Reader's Service," followed by the pre-Communion Service conducted by the minister, who also preached a sermon and conducted the long intercessory prayer after the sermon, corresponded to the normal Sunday Morning worship of the Church of England - Mattins and ante-Communion.

It must be admitted that it was only when Episcopacy and Presbytery fell further apart, that Presbyterian criticism of liturgical/

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1. G. Donaldson, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

/liturgical worship, and of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER in particular, came to accept Puritan criticisms as its own, and hardened into strong opposition. Although Knox had been so outspoken in his criticism of the English book, a certain amount of toleration prevailed at first. After 1600, while the Episcopal party favoured the PRAYER BOOK and the Presbyterian the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, there were probably Presbyterians whose Puritan sympathies made them critical of some things in the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, and there was certainly a central party composed of both Episcopalians and Presbyterians, who, while remaining loyal to KNOX'S LITURGY, desired its improvement.<sup>1.</sup>

Unfortunately, the cause of liturgical revision was prejudiced by monarchical high-handedness, and by the growing influence on Scottish minds of Puritan criticisms of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. The events of 1637 ushered in that ~~set~~ antipathy to set prayer in any form, which, fortified by Brownist influence, cleared the way for services in which all the prayers were extemporary.<sup>2.</sup> Yet a contemporary witness says that about 1640 "set forms of prayer in public began to be discontinued by all, and such as used them were looked upon as not spiritual enough." While admitting that there was room for improvement in KNOX'S LITURGY, he asserts that the Laud's book let loose upon the Church a malady far more grievous, "which was that Ministers prayed extempore."<sup>3.</sup>

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1. Ibid, p. 28; W. McMillan, op. cit., p. 170.
  2. cf. W. McMillan, op. cit., pp. 71 - 72.
  3. Gordon, Parson of Rothiemay, quoted in G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. XXX.

Sprott described KNOX'S LITURGY as a "discretionary liturgy."<sup>1.</sup> It was no more. While the forms for the special services were more strictly imposed than those for regular Sunday worship, liberty was granted to vary some of the prayers in these alsp. From the earliest years of the Reformation in Scotland, the place of free prayer in public worship was jealously guarded. As early as 1560, it was laid down: "in great towns we think it expedient that every day there be either sermon or common prayers, with some exercise of reading the Scriptures. What<sup>day</sup> the public service is, we can neither require nor greatly approve that the Common Prayers be publicly used, lest that we should either foster the people in superstition, who come to the prayers as they come to Mass, or else give the occasion that they think them no prayers which be made before and after sermons."<sup>2.</sup>

While Lee's opponents, and others after them,<sup>3.</sup> eager to prove the long established place of extemporary prayer in the affections of the Scots, under-estimated the use made of KNOX'S LITURGY as a prayer book between 1560 and 1645, those who wished to establish liturgical prayer within the Church of Scotland last century, tended not to face up to the real nature of KNOX'S LITURGY. Many who blushed for the state of public prayer in the Established Church, and who were deeply aware of the contrast between the prevailing extemporary prayers, and the ordered, decorous worship of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, failed to face up to the essential difference/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. XXIII.

2. FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE, Chapter XI, Section 2.

3. See W. Hay Fleming, DID THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND ONCE USE A LITURGY ?



/difference between KNOX'S LITURGY and the English book. When, as in the later editions of EUCHOLOGION, they did publish prayers for use at Divine Service in the Church of Scotland, these showed more affinity with the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER than with KNOX'S LITURGY.

The fact is (and this is fundamental for the understanding of all that followed in the development of public worship in the Church of Scotland) the parting of the ways began in 1564, when the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER was authorised for use, and the SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF EDWARD VI was set aside. Then the way was opened up for a type of Reformed worship which was radical, not conservative, which by the very nature of its tone and temper, would lead worship in the Church of Scotland further away from, rather than nearer to, the pattern of mediaeval worship. In the English service book a synthesis was achieved between the sacrificial and the prophetic types of Christian worship; in the Scottish book, the sacrificial aspect of worship was practically excluded. The Scots continued thereafter to show alarm at any revision or interpretation of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER which seemed to show the slightest Rome-ward trend.

At the same time, because the Scottish book allowed a very considerable liberty to ministers in the conduct of worship (which was not the case in the English book), and because responses were studiously/

/studiously eschewed (except in the ORDER FOR THE BLESSING OF A SHIP), the minister was supremely the mouthpiece of the people in their approach to God, with the consequence that the "gift of prayer" was magnified in importance.

Quite apart from political considerations, and apart from all alien influences, free prayer, by the very nature of KNOX'S LITURGY, must have grown in importance. The division between the "Reader's Service" and the worship conducted by the minister, added to the value set upon free prayer. Although KNOX'S LITURGY was not given up without regret on the part of both clergy and laity,<sup>1.</sup> long ere its falling into disuse, there must have existed among the people that admiration for, and among the clergy, that rivalry in the use of, free prayer which later became a marked feature of Scottish worship. Many of the derogatory remarks made by Lee and others about free prayer, are disloyal to the typically Scottish attitude in the matter.

Moreover, KNOX'S LITURGY was hardly the product of calm reflection in an age of mature and settled piety. Vestiges of Romanism lingered long, even within the Reformed Scottish Church. Trained clergy were scarce. "Its lot was cast in evil days, and amid the troubles of a harassed Church. During these eighty years, there was little cessation in the vexatious strife between the greedy spoilers of the old Church, and the poverty-stricken clergy of the/

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1. W. McMillan, op. cit., pp. 72-73.

/the Reformed - between the Prelacy which was the tool of the absolutism of the Crown and rapacity of the nobles, and the Presbytery, which was the defender of the Faith, and of the liberties of the people. This antagonism thwarted, at almost every point, the natural and peaceful development of the Scottish Church." <sup>1.</sup> In such a time, the great purpose of the book was to guard the public worship of the Church from error, to instruct the ignorant in the elements of the Faith, and to ensure reasonable order and uniformity in the conduct of public worship. The book was not (like the promoters of the revival of worship in the nineteenth century) primarily concerned with the enrichment of worship.

KNOX'S LITURGY was capable of much extension and improvement, but the times did not permit this. Although the book preserved the framework of the primitive Divine Service, it reduced the Service to the barest elements. The impulse to spread light and knowledge interfered with the expression of devotion. Probably its defects contributed to its disuse. Ministers, apparently, compensated for the wholly eucharistic nature of the pre-Communion <sup>2.</sup> prayer, by adding an epiclesis or blessing of the elements.

The difference in form and in aim between KNOX'S LITURGY and an obligatory liturgy like the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER cannot be forgotten. Knox's book was too drastic in its exclusion of the/

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1. R. H. Story, THE REFORMED RITUAL IN SCOTLAND, p. 15.  
 2. W. McMillan, op. cit., pp. 67 - 68.

/the rich, Catholic devotion of the Breviary. It included too extensively, dogma and polemics. It lacked much of the rhythmical flow of language and the grace of form which needs must characterise a liturgy which the Church can make obligatory, and long continue to use.

d. The Duns Case.

The Duns Case is important for the insight it affords into the conditions under which early innovators in public worship laboured. John Macleod's ministry at Duns extended from 1862-75, during which his spirituality and devoted labours endeared him to his parishioners, and his preaching filled the church to capacity.

Undoubtedly the respect which his ability and personality inspired, made possible the innovations which he introduced.

It is true, that in 1870, the Presbytery of Duns had unanimously requested him to explain certain expressions in a Pastoral Letter of 3rd August, 1870. The offending passage read: "I desire to have the privilege of approach to every sick bed, and I cannot be held responsible if the sick perish without receiving any ghostly counsel, blessing, warning, opportunity of confession, and if there be special need for it, absolution at the hands of an ordained minister." The inquiry ended amicably, by John Macleod seconding himself the motion which became the finding of the Presbytery, viz.: "... he intended these expressions to refer to benefits which may be brought to the sick, and such as are under spiritual anxiety, by the Ministry of the Word through the Ordained Pastor, and by his prayer, and therefore they find him not to be chargeable with the holding of unscriptural views as to this important department of ministerial duty; but they are of opinion that some of the expressions which/

/which he uses in that passage are used incautiously in so far as they might, though undesignedly, do harm." <sup>1.</sup> But it was not until John Macleod had left Duns, that a petition from a minority in the Duns congregation, was presented to the Kirk Session.

Perhaps if the Kirk Session, who stood by Macleod, had acted with more wisdom, the matter would have ended there, but four members of the congregation appealed to the Presbytery against the Kirk Session's delay in dealing with their petition. Thus proceedings were instigated in the Church courts which continued until 1876.

The Presbytery eagerly seized this opportunity which they had not cared or dared to take during Macleod's ministry among them. It was even hinted that a member of the Presbytery was behind the petition. Certainly, the interim moderator at Duns was entirely against the changes in worship which Macleod had introduced. The Presbytery refused even to hold an inquiry, alleging that the innovations were "matters of notoriety in the parish of Duns - none of which the Kirk Session deny - matters which appear to the Presbytery to require immediate attention if the church of the parish shall be preserved to the Presbyterian members of the congregation." <sup>2.</sup>

The Presbytery did not consider that the case was to be dealt with merely with the peace of the congregation in view. They held that the innovations were unscriptural and unlawful and unPresbyterian. As such, they must be condemned. The important point for our study is/

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1. Minute of the Presbytery of Duns, 20. 12. 1870.

2. Minute of the Presbytery of Duns, 8. 1. 1875.

/is that the majority of the congregation wished the ordering of public worship and the furnishings of the church to remain as Macleod had left them. This is a remarkable testimony to the thoroughness and success of Macleod's teaching. They believed there was no illegality attached to any of the innovations.

The Presbytery was determined that the practices which they held to be unsound must stop. Finally, the General Assembly supported the Presbytery by 148 votes to 105. Thereafter, Macleod's successor at Duns reported that "with reference to the judgement of the last General Assembly in the Duns Innovations case - I have to report that it has been acquiesced in - in the forms and time of worship, there is nothing that is not thoroughly Presbyterian, and the Duns Church is now as destitute of adornment as any other ecclesiastical structure in Scotland."<sup>1.</sup>

One may well ask what were the innovations which received such unqualified condemnation.

The phraseology of the original petition from the minority of the Duns congregation is revealing. The petitioners objected to the "observance of certain feasts of the English Church and the introduction of symbols foreign to a Presbyterian Church." These offending feasts were Christmas, Easter, Ascension and Pentecost. The un-Presbyterian symbols were a cover on the Holy Table with I H S embroidered on it, and a cross on the cover of the Font (as yet admitted no further than the session-house) - symbols deemed/

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1. Minute of the Presbytery of Duns, 13. 7. 1876.

/deemed "un-necessary, and needlessly offensive to Presbyterian feelings." The petitioners also objected to the use of a printed Communion Service. They asked for quarterly Holy Communion with a restoration of "fencing of the Table," and for a half-yearly Fast Day. They objected to the use of the "so-called appendix to the Hymnal," as having been introduced without authority, and as containing hymns which lacked reverence, and were both repugnant to true devotional feeling and "to some of your petitioners, personally painful." They asked for a return from kneeling to standing at the benediction, as "more consonant to Presbyterian belief that the blessing is pronounced by a Christian Minister, and not by a Priest." They alleged that they had not previously complained publicly of these matters, although they disapproved of them,<sup>1.</sup> because of their respect for Dr. Macleod.

The terms in which the Presbytery's final injunction was couched are significant. They ordered the "altar-cloth" and the font-cover to be removed. The "observance of any of the Roman Catholic or Episcopal Feast or Festival Days" must cease. The Fast Days were to be restored, and the Lord's Supper was to be celebrated only quarterly. The Table was to be "fenced." No hymnal except the SCOTTISH HYMNAL was to be used in public worship. The Presbytery, however, "declined to do more than recommend that for peace's sake the congregation" should<sup>2.</sup> return to their accustomed posture at the benediction.

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1.cf. Minute of the Presbytery of Duns, 9. 2. 1875.

2. Minute of the Presbytery of Duns, 20. 7. 1875.



John Macleod's ministry at Duns proves with what comparative ease a minister, who was singularly acceptable to his congregation, could lead them on to changes in public worship. This was proved frequently during the revival of worship. James Cooper's ministry at Aberdeen, and Cameron Lees' at St. Giles' are other notable instances.

Apparently, Macleod left the Duns congregation as largely convinced as he was himself, as to the legality and desirability of the changes he had made. Although the congregation were well led and ably defended in the Church courts, and although they received considerable support from the Press, they were obliged to surrender before the severe criticism and rigid judgement which they encountered.

There was no guarantee that changes in worship introduced during one ministry might not be reversed during a subsequent ministry. Although, as the revival of worship developed, this danger never became the reality it was in the Church of England, during the changes in worship introduced by the Oxford Movement.

The case also discloses the extent of the prejudice, complacency and ignorance which impeded changes in worship.

Frequently, at this time, both in England and in Scotland, any innovation in worship was branded, more often unjustly than justly, as "Puseyism." Characteristically, the changes at Duns were construed as badges of disloyalty to Presbyterianism, as intimations of a belief in the Real Presence, and as a conspiracy against the supremacy of Scripture/

/Scripture in all matters of faith.

The Presbytery stood fast by the Scottish disapproval of Christian festivals. They actually forbade the Duns congregation to assemble for worship on Good Friday or on Ascension Day, or to celebrate the Lord's Supper at Christmas or at Easter.

The tide of popular feeling had, however, already turned.

Within a few years stained glass windows were inserted in the reconstructed parish church of Duns. After only sixteen years, Mr. Blake, one of the chief opponents of the Duns innovations, was buried beneath a tombstone which took the form of a cross, and bore the letters I H S - the very symbols which he had so vigorously opposed in the Duns case.<sup>1.</sup>

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1. This grave is in Langton Churchyard, near Duns.

e. The Ministry of Dr. J. Cameron Lees.

The ministry of Dr. James Cameron Lees in St. Giles' Cathedral (1877 - 1909) was an important factor in the development of the revival of worship. He popularised "innovations." He won for them an established place at the centre of the life of the National Church. The cathedral services might be described disparagingly as "ambitious and ornate" and "ritualistic"<sup>1.</sup> by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, but vast congregations, often including many visitors, who normally worshipped in other parish churches in Scotland, filled the church year after year. The type of worship conducted there won an assured place in the life of the city of Edinburgh, and its influence extended throughout the whole country.

Lees' personality and gifts, his vision, discretion, and spiritual power, enabled him to do what Lee could not do. He brought to the cathedral a wide ministerial experience, and the mysticism and vision of the Celt. No stranger himself to poverty and sorrow, Lees could strike a very human note in public devotion. His sermons, accounted among the finest of the time, were models of simplicity, diction and brevity. Along with what amounted to a new style of preaching, he, after the restoration of the cathedral in 1883, brought into use there a service book, compiled by himself. He started a **Daily Service** in 1884. On weekdays and on Sundays (so acceptable did this prayer book become)<sup>2.</sup> Lees' book was used in St. Giles' for forty/

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1. N. Maclean, LIFE OF J. CAMERON LEES, p. 312.

2. A BOOK OF COMMON ORDER FOR SUNDAY AND WEEKDAY SERVICES, 1884.

/forty years (with revisions and additions.)

Lees was one of the founders of the Church Service Society, and had been active in the restoration of Paisley Abbey. His friendship with the Queen, his generous attitude to the Presbyterian dissenters, and his realistic interpretation of the religious temper of the people, made him trusted as a wise and far-seeing reformer in public worship. There can be no doubt that the reverent and dignified service, set in surroundings transformed, but recently, from sheer ugliness, and fraught with many historic associations, made converts to the new ways of worship, and inspired in many hearts the conviction that purity and simplicity do not inevitably mean squalor and ugliness, and that a well-ordered worship need not be a pale imitation of Anglicanism, but can be an expression of genuine Scottish and Presbyterian piety.

Dr. Norman Maclean has testified to the impression which the St. Giles' service made upon a young student from the Highlands: "The gleaming of the tattered flags on the arches in the dim, wintry light, and the deep voice of the minister penetrating to the furthest recesses of the great building, surcharged with deepest emotion - but emotion ever under control - these made an indelible impression. It is only those who, for all their years accustomed to a fragmentary congregation in a bare and barren church, thus for the first time to come to a sanctuary in which they find religion giving noble and moving expression/

/expression to the deepest feelings of the heart, can realise the difference which Dr. Lees could make in one's estimate of the true values of life. These things have now become the commonplace of religious experience in Scotland. That they have become so in the Church of Scotland, is mainly due to Dr. Lees' ministry in St. Giles.'" <sup>1.</sup>

A similar testimony comes from an unexpected source. Cooper told how Dr. Alexander Whyte said to him "that he had watched the effects of its (St. Giles') restoration from the beginning, and had rejoiced to see the manifold and beneficent results of it on the public religious life of the country." <sup>2.</sup>

The prayer book which Lees compiled for his congregation contains much fine material. It did much to educate the taste of the clergy and the people in public worship. The Sacramental Services are inferior to those in EUCHOLOGION, but the Morning and Evening Services strike a tender, personal note, which is sometimes lacking in that book.

Lees' book is dignified without being formal, felicitous often in its expressions, and entirely Scriptural. A recent writer has recorded how divinity students hailed the St. Giles book as a model; "For one reason or another, we did not (in Edinburgh, at least) make so much use of EUCHOLOGION at that time; although, later, when we were ordained, we read most thankfully the Holy Communion service which/

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1. N. Maclean, op. cit., pp. 332 - 333.

2. TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1914, p. 122

/which it contained. But in its ordinary services it seemed to lack the warmth, the intimate personal note, that we found in the St. Giles' book. Perhaps also there was another reason for our preference: that this, we knew, was a book in use every Sunday, and indeed every day, and valued by a great congregation as their own liturgy, officially sanctioned by their minister to be used until such time as 'another formulary be set forth by the proper authority'.<sup>1.</sup>"

An opinion which Lees expressed near the close of his life is an incisive insight into the contemporary worship of the Church of Scotland. He advocated a "Liturgy of a simple character, containing prayers that are essential to every Christian service, such as confession of sin," and said: "In Switzerland they always use Beza's confession. I have been in churches this summer where there was none, and no prayer for the extension of the Redeemer's Kingdom. I was very anxious one Sunday about... and went to church to pray for him - but there were none from the pulpit for those who are sick. A few short prayers issued by authority of the Assembly on essential aspects of supplication would be a great help, leaving the minister to add such prayers of his own as may come to him. I never would give up free prayer, which I believe has its own special power and is often inspired from above. But I think a simple printed service would give our worship more concentration and would/

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1. C. T. Thornton, THE ST. GILES' BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, 1884-1926.  
C. S. S. Annual, 1954, pp. 35 - 40.

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/would keep educated and cultured people with us. A member of mine whom I met at Strathpeffer, told me she always went to the English Church when away from Edinburgh. 'You are never sure,' she said, 'whom you find in the parish church, and in the English Church you always get something that helps you, though there is poor preaching.' That expresses what a good many of her class feel. It isn't altogether a desire to be fashionable that sends people to the Chapel."<sup>1.</sup>

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1. Quoted in N. Maclean, op. cit., p. 431.

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f. The Ministry of Dr. John Macleod.

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The ministry of John Macleod exercised a profound influence on the development of the revival of worship. This influence was felt chiefly in the later phase of the revival, and particularly through the work of the Scottish Church Society. In this society Macleod's influence was paramount; no one was ever found to fill the gap created by his unexpected death; in later years the society constantly deferred to his example and teaching. Macleod took a prominent part in the affairs of the General Assembly only towards the end of his life. It is likely that, if he had lived longer, he might have exercised a strong influence in the movement for re-union with the U. F. Church, with the result that the Established Church might have stood out more boldly for the principle of Establishment, and for a full acceptance of Catholic Faith and Practice.

For the revival of worship, Macleod's importance lies in the fact that, at a time when innovations in worship were flooding the Church of Scotland, and the externals of a more Catholic type of worship were being introduced, he taught a definite theory of worship. Macleod witnessed before the Church to the fact that the Eucharist is the Divinely appointed form of Christian worship, and to the fact that all the externals in worship - liturgies, symbols, architecture - must express the worshippers' belief in the spiritual realities Behind/



/behind them, in particular in a Catholic and Evangelical doctrine of the Church, the Ministry and the Sacraments.

During his ministry in Duns, Macleod became interested in the Catholic Apostolic Church, of which he became a "sealed" member. The Liturgy and worship of this denomination greatly influenced all his subsequent ministry. Macleod's devotion to this body was deep. When suspicions were roused by his attendance at its services in Glasgow, he journeyed to Edinburgh and to London, to worship with the Irvingites. It is thought that, in the delirium of his last illness, he was asking for Extreme Unction from that Church.<sup>1.</sup>

The Catholic Apostolic influence is seen in Macleod's teaching on Baptism, the Eucharist, the priestly function exercised by the Baptized, in participating in the Divinely appointed form of Christian worship, and in his view of the Tabernacle as a type of Christian worship. Macleod's chief difference from the conception of public worship held by the Irvingites (apart from the place of the Gift of Tongues in the service) lay in his great stress on preaching. Although he was so concerned to make the devotional part of the service as full and as worthy as possible, he insisted that the sermon should not suffer. He himself was a preacher of the greatest spiritual power, and his sermons were very long. At Govan, during his/

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1. Reminiscences kindly given by Mr. Stewart, Pastor of the Catholic Apostolic Church, Edinburgh.

/his ministry, the celebration of Holy Communion was increased from two to four times a year in 1875, then to six times in 1879, with additional celebrations at festivals of the Church. Holy Week services began in 1884.

There was, of course, protest, which reached Assembly level, but out of a congregation of 2000 only 11 protested. The Assembly dismissed the protest, although one of the charges was his membership of the Catholic Apostolic Church, and another the allegation that he taught an "intermediate, possibly purgatorial state."<sup>1.</sup>

The crowning success of his ministry was the opening of the new parish church at Govan in 1888, an event of significance in the progress of the revival of worship. The building seemed to express concretely and adequately, the ideal<sup>2.</sup> of worship towards which Macleod and others had been working. The Octave of Services which Macleod published at the church's dedication show the liturgical ideal for which he had striven for many years.<sup>3.</sup> There was to be Daily Prayer as long as the church should stand. It was a fundamental principle that all sittings should be free, and that every worshipper could see the preacher's face. The Ministry of the Word was never to be neglected, but the church was the Holy of Holies, where, in the celebration of the Eucharist, Christ and His Flock were united in/

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1. See R. S. Kirkpatrick, THE MINISTRY OF JOHN MACLEOD IN THE PARISH OF GOVAN, p. 39;  
S. A. Hurlbut, THE LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND SINCE THE REFORMATION, Part IV.
  2. See R. S. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 81f.;  
S. C. S. : THE DIVINE LIFE OF THE CHURCH, vol. II, p. 227.;  
TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, vol. II, p. 409.
  3. R. S. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 95f.

/in pleading in Heaven and on earth the One Sacrifice.

Macleod persuaded Kempe, who worked only for Anglican churches, to execute some stained glass, in the hope that "Catholic Re-union" was a not-too-distant possibility.<sup>1.</sup> The services were extremely popular, despite their great length, and what was then termed their "ritualistic" tendencies. Daughter churches, dedicated to SS. Bride, Margaret, and Kenneth extended the tradition, preserving as buildings an atmosphere all their own within the Establishment.

Macleod objected to the 1662 BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, because its Communion Office had no epiclesis, no true oblation, no true commemoration of the departed, and because the intercessions were placed before the consecration. For him it was "a meagre, disordered, and defective Eucharistic Order."<sup>2.</sup> In his published Order for Holy Communion, Macleod was influenced by the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy's full intercessions. He also placed the Manual Acts during the Prayer of Consecration.<sup>3.</sup>

We read that at the dedication of Govan Parish Church, the people had the printed order of service in front of them and that they sang the Ter Sanctus. No doubt, Macleod's intense spirituality saved him from the charge of "formalism," and helped to make such a type of worship possible at that date.

Macleod's words spoken at the laying of the foundation stone of the new church, sum up his significance for the revival of worship in the Church of Scotland./

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1. Ibid, p. 100.

2. S. A. Hurlbut, op. cit., Part IV, p. 107.

3. GOVAN PARISH CHURCH: DEDICATION SERVICES, pp. 21 - 27.

/in the Church of Scotland. He said: "What we desire for the Church of Scotland, and for every other Church, we desire for this Fabric: that, when completed, consecrated to the Holy Trinity, and freely thrown open to all, it may become associated with a creed Catholic, and therefore simple, with an administration Scriptural and therefore comprehensive, with worship sacramental and therefore acceptable to the Lord, and perfectly adequate to the present help of His members, with a weekly Eucharist and daily prayer, with evangelical preaching and holy living, with the imperishable Apostolic Faith and the one Apostolic Hope."<sup>1.</sup>

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1. R. S. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 80.

g. The Ministry of Dr. James Cooper.

In the fragment of autobiography which Professor James Cooper left at his death, he confessed that throughout his entire ministry he had aimed at reviving the spirit of worship.<sup>1.</sup> This was no idle boast. During his ministries at Broughty Ferry (1873 - 81) and at Aberdeen (1881 - 98) Cooper was foremost among his fellow ministers in seeking to deepen congregational spiritual life along Catholic lines.

An untiring and beloved pastor, by his gracious personality he commended his High Church teaching, or at least won tolerance for it. He was called to Aberdeen, although his churchmanship was already declared and known, and although the call was not unopposed.<sup>2.</sup> Chiefly expository in his preaching, he exercised a teaching ministry, which widened Scripture knowledge and inculcated habits of devotion among his flock.

Of Cooper it was said: "He was the first of our ministers to observe Holy Week, the first to form a Guild for Women, the first to conduct a Retreat, very early in the field with a Mission Week, and his ardent interest in Industrial Schools shows him forward in recognising the social responsibilities of the Church. He was keenly sensitive to the occurrence of opportunities, and mourned, if they/

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1. See H. J. Wotherspoon, JAMES COOPER: A MEMOIR, p. 19.  
 2. J. M. Kirkpatrick, JAMES COOPER, 1846 - 1922;  
 C. S. S. Annual, 1947, p. 4.

/they passed away unimproved through silence or inaction." <sup>1.</sup>

A few months after his Ordination, Cooper instituted Sick Communion. <sup>2.</sup> He later established quarterly celebrations of the Lord's Supper - then a startling innovation. In 1874, he began his first Christmas Service. He was a pioneer in conducting Holy Week Services, which he began in 1878. Immediately after his induction at Aberdeen, he restored the "weekly exercise." He revered the good practices in the Scottish tradition and was unwilling to let them go, if he could possibly retain them. Within the first year of his Aberdeen ministry, Daily Morning Service, Marriages celebrated in Church, a fortnightly congregational, and a weekly children's, practice of Church Praise were established.

Cooper drew up his own Manual for First Communicants, his own Order of Service for Holy Communion, and an interesting Manual for the Guild of St. Margaret, with Daily Lectionary, Offices for meetings of the Guild, and for Christian festivals, also with Family Prayers for a week. <sup>3.</sup>

In all this, Cooper seems to have acted precipitately. He failed to carry the entire Kirk Session along with him. He also was incautious in his use of language. Suspicions were aroused regarding his doctrinal beliefs, on topics such as Apostolic Succession, Baptismal/

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1. Ibid, p. 4.

2. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 98.

3. MANUAL OF THE GUILD OF ST. MARGARET OF SCOTLAND, 1893.

/Baptismal Regeneration, the Real Presence and Ministerial Absolution. The upshot was a petition to the Presbytery of Aberdeen signed by eleven elders.<sup>1.</sup> As a result, Cooper was censured by the Presbytery, not regarding his doctrine or practice, but regarding his manner of propounding his doctrine and of introducing his practice. This was quite a victory for the cause which Cooper represented.

For the revival of worship, this case was important, because the Press largely supported Cooper, and as a result, the success of his ministry in Aberdeen was undiminished. His congregation continued to grow steadily. On the other hand, Cooper's vindication may have urged on to a certain temerity of action, his friend and assistant, Rev. T. N. Adamson, who later figured in the Barnhill case, which set definite limits to High Church practice in the Church of Scotland, and by rousing popular suspicions, checked the whole movement a little.

Cooper, it must be admitted, established the success and popularity of Catholic teaching and worship in a working-class parish within the Church of Scotland. He showed what a congregation, greatly busied with good works and organisations, yet having its life rooted in prayer and devotion, within the rhythm of the Christian Year and the inspiration of a fuller sacramental life, could be.

Perhaps Cooper did not make many converts to his type of Church life and worship, but he established that there was a rightful place<sup>2.</sup> for these within the Established Church.

1. See H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., pp. 127 - 128.

2. cf. TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1923, pp. 46-

SECTION 7THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE REVIVALa. The Work of Committees of the General Assembly

The revival of worship developed at two levels. Firstly, the General Assembly, acting mainly through specially appointed committees, slowly and cautiously authorised changes in the Church's public worship. Secondly, and chiefly, the revival was promoted through the work of individual ministers, and the activities of newly formed societies. In the long run, the work done at this secondary level, and without the official encouragement of the Church, greatly influenced the attitude and policy of the General Assembly.

Throughout the period 1850 - 1930, the General Assembly appears to have been concerned to preserve the peace and unity of the Church, to keep in mind re-union with the Dissenters, and to keep the Church in step with changing popular taste in public worship, without flagrantly transgressing any of the ideals of worship embodied in the Church's Standards. The Assembly did not set itself to define the principles of church worship. When presented with the diversity in practice which the revival created, the Assembly offered no clearly/



/clearly defined theory of public worship which might bring order out of confusion.<sup>1</sup> Attention was focussed rather on the maximum of innovation which could be tolerated within the Church's constitution. Not until 1923, with the publication of PRAYERS FOR DIVINE SERVICE, did the Assembly commit itself to definite forms for the ordinary diets of Sunday worship and for the Sacraments and ordinances of the Church. This volume, although based on PRAYERS FOR SOCIAL AND FAMILY WORSHIP which had long enjoyed official sanction, was, unlike it, intended for public, not private worship.

At the time of the Greyfriars' case, a distinct cleavage of opinion was manifest in the Assembly. Some resisted innovations, especially any which savoured of Episcopacy, and pled for simplicity and purity of worship. Others believed in tolerance. They held that a considerable measure of freedom ought to be left to individual congregations, in adopting changes in worship. In the course of time, this latter view prevailed. The limits of an increasingly broad tolerance were seen in the Barnhill case in 1902.

As early as 1849 the General Assembly appointed its Committee on Aids to Devotion. This committee, re-appointed in 1885, was, in 1930, along with the Committee on Psalmody and Hymns, merged into the Committee on Public Worship and Aids to Devotion in the re-united Church of Scotland. Originally, this committee's task was to draw up a form of "social worship" for soldiers, sailors, colonists, /

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1. cf. Report of the Committee on Public Worship and the Sacraments, 1890,

/colonists, and church people in the Highlands and Islands who were "scattered abroad and destitute of a fixed pastor to conduct social worship after the manner of their fathers."<sup>1.</sup>

This "Directory or Collection of Aids to Devotion" was to be drawn up on the "basis supplied by the Directory for Public Worship, and conformably to the practice in use in the times of the Reformation."<sup>2.</sup> The General Assembly relaxed this condition in 1858, in view of the divergence between the prevailing use and wont in the Church and the public worship envisaged by the DIRECTORY. It instructed the committee to "adhere as closely as possible to the method and order of worship, at present observed in our churches, or to make only such deviations from it as may serve to bring the Aids to Devotion into closer agreement with the Directory."<sup>3.</sup>

Several overtures, also a memorial from ministers and missionaries of the Church of Scotland in the East Indies, had been received by the General Assembly,<sup>4.</sup> before, in 1858, it allowed the publication of the five Morning and five Evening Services which the Committee on Aids to Devotion submitted along with a variety of special and occasional prayers. The Assembly advised that a few family prayers for general use be added before publication.

Although the volume was not intended for use in the public services/

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1. Prayers for Social and Family Worship, 1859, p. 321.
  2. Overture to the General Assembly, 1849.
  3. Prayers for Social and Family Worship, 1859, p. 320.
  4. Ibid, p. 317.

/services of the Church, the Assembly acted with caution. Publication was permitted, without the Assembly committing itself to approval of the form of the prayers. The book was allowed to circulate until 1863, before it received official authorisation. In that year, it was reported that 13,500 copies had been sold. There was some expression of displeasure, because the book had been distributed to the Forces without the official sanction of the General Assembly.<sup>1</sup> This sanction was then given.

In the preface to the first edition, it was emphasised that "no innovation whatever is contemplated on the long established usages of the Church of Scotland, which, as is well known, are altogether opposed to the employment of any kind of liturgy by her ministers. The 'Forms of Social Worship' contained in this volume are not intended for the use of ministers in conducting the ordinary services of the Church, but simply as aids to the exercise of Social Worship, according to the manner of the Church of Scotland, by soldiers, sailors, colonists, sojourners in India or in foreign countries, who are deprived of the regular services of a Christian Ministry; and also by the inhabitants of remote and secluded districts of Scotland, who, being far removed from their churches, or separated from them by firths or arms of the sea, are frequently excluded/

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1. "Scotsman," 2. 6. 1863.

/excluded from the ordinances of the sanctuary." <sup>1.</sup> This preface also informs us that the forms for Social Worship were compiled mainly from the devotional writings of Calvin, Knox and other Reformers, from the DIRECTORY, and from the prayers of Richard Baxter and Henry Smith. <sup>2.</sup>

In 1864 the General Assembly approved of PRAYERS FOR FAMILY AND SOCIAL WORSHIP, which the committee had prepared, basing it on the family prayers in their first book, with many supplementary prayers added. This new book met with a ready sale.

Then in 1885 the General Assembly re-appointed its Committee on Aids to Devotion, in order that AIDS TO DEVOTION might be revised. Under this title was now included Prayers for Social and Family Worship; an abridged edition for the Forces; also Prayers for Family Worship.

Again the Assembly acted with caution. It gave its deliverance on the revision in 1889, saying: "the Assembly meanwhile reserving any deliverance on its merits, remits these Books of Devotion to the Committee for further revision and amendment; and allows the Committee, if it see cause, to publish the Books of Devotion, so revised, in order that the opinion of the Church may be maturely formed regarding their suitableness to the several classes for whom they/

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1. PRAYERS FOR SOCIAL AND FAMILY WORSHIP, 1859.  
Preface, pp. v - vi.
  2. Ibid, p. vi, cf. Appendix II, pp. 324 - 326.

/they are intended; it being understood that, in the meantime, the forms so published have only the sanction of the Committee." <sup>1.</sup>

These books, while based on the earlier ones, showed considerable additions and alterations. The prayers were drawn from a wider field. They were briefer and better ordered. A notable feature was the introduction of Children's Services. These embodied responses and the recitation of the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments.

A comparison between the opening prayer of the third Evening Service in the editions of 1859 and 1889 indicates the change in style and taste in public prayer within the Church of Scotland in a comparatively short time. In 1859 the prayer begins thus:

"Almighty God, who hast deigned to gather us into Thy Visible Church, grant that we may never turn aside from the purity of thy worship; but, always regarding what pleaseth Thee, may order allooour doings and thoughts in oðedience to Thy revealed will; and so honour Thee, both in spirit and in outward forms, as becometh those who are true members of Thy Son's body, that Thy name may be glorified in us. We thank Thee that thou hast promised for His sake to be present in the assemblies of Thy people, and to grant theiur requests for whatsoever good things they shall agree on earth to ask of Thee; and we beseech Thee to help our infirmity, and so to lift up our thoughts, and draw forth/

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1. PRAYERS FOR SOCIAL AND FAMILY WORSHIP, 1889, p. vi.

/forth our desires towards Thee, that we may render an acceptable service through Jesus Christ our Lord."

In the 1889 book, the corresponding passage reads:

"O God, who art a Spirit, and who wouldst be worshipped in spirit and in truth, give us, we beseech Thee, the disposition of true worshippers, and let our humble endeavours in Thy service be accepted through the mediation of Thy beloved Son, our Lord and only Saviour."

Also, whereas the sources used in compiling the 1859 book were strictly Reformed, for the 1889 volume, sources such as Neale's PRIMITIVE LITURGIES, Bright's ANCIENT COLLECTS, THE PRIEST'S PRAYER BOOK were employed.<sup>1.</sup>

The General Assembly authorised in 1892 the publication of a revision of PRAYERS FOR FAMILY WORSHIP, also a collection of short family prayers for pasting in Bibles, A less bulky prayer book for the Forces was published in 1898.

The Committee, however, complained of the small demand for its devotional publications, and asserted that many did not know of their existence.<sup>2.</sup> In 1903 they published PRAYERS FOR SAILORS AND FISHERFOLK, but confessed in 1905 that "no one has taken the trouble to procure even a single copy."<sup>3.</sup> The Committee itself felt it could not carry on its work in the face of such apathy. The Committee/

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1. cf. PRAYERS FOR SOCIAL AND FAMILY WORSHIP, 1889, Preface, p.ix, note.  
 2. Report of the Committee on Aids to Devotion, 1898.  
 3. Report of the Committee on Aids to Devotion, 1905.

/Committee escaped extinction in 1907 when a motion to hand over its work to the Committee on Life and Work was defeated. Not, however, until the Great War, did new life stir within it.

Under the convenership of Dr. Wallace Williamson, and amid the exigencies of the time, the Committee acted in a timely and practical manner. In the course of providing for the devotional needs of the nation at this crisis, it produced the first order of service for public worship, sanctioned by the General Assembly. This the Committee issued as an ORDER OF SERVICE FOR THE DAY OF HUMBLE PRAYER AND INTERCESSION, on 3rd January, 1915.

In the same year they also published FORMS OF INTERCESSION FOR PRIVATE AND FAMILY PRAYER; A SHORTENED SERVICE OF HOLY COMMUNION, especially for the use of chaplains and others in time of war; a little MANUAL with services and prayers for use in the absence of a chaplain. The work of the Committee won the warm praise even of "THE CHURCH TIMES," and Wallace Williamson admitted that the "by-products of this great war, if they might use such a phrase, were wonderful, varied, and numerous, and one of them, curiously enough, had been the acceptance by the people unquestioningly of forms of service which in days of peace would have created very great disturbance."<sup>1</sup> It was recalled at the time that Mr. Stevenson had had to wait ten years for a parish because he had been assistant to Lee.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Report of the Church Service Society, 1917, p. 6.

2. Ibid, p. 7.

In 1918 the Committee published PRAYERS FOR FAMILY WORSHIP in two forms, the first containing prayers for Morning and Evening for one week, the second, in addition, prayers for sacred, sacramental, and natural seasons, and for special events in the home. But the full flowering on the new life stirring in this Committee was seen in 1923 when the General Assembly "cordially commended" the volume, PRAYERS FOR DIVINE SERVICE IN CHURCH AND HOME, which the previous Assembly had authorised the Committee to publish. In 1929 a revised edition was published, from which was omitted PRAYERS FOR FAMILY WORSHIP (this had been issued as a separate volume in 1927), to which were added orders of service for the Ordination of Ministers, the Licensing of Probationers, the Admission of Elders, the Dedication of a Church, and for other special occasions.

The battle was won. In authorising such a volume, the General Assembly did what it had neither cared or dared to do at the time of the Greyfriars' case. The way had been prepared for this in a large measure by the circulation of EUCHOLOGION over the years, and by the labours of the Church Service Society. Perhaps the impending union with the United Free Church emboldened the Assembly. At least there were those within the Establishment who wished to see the Church's worship embodied in model forms, before her worship should be merged with that of a different tradition.

The other General Assembly Committee which played a chief part in the revival of worship was the Committee on Psalmody and Hymns. This/



/This Committee was formed in 1872 by the fusion of the Committee on Paraphrases and Hymns with the Committee on Psalmody. Appointed in 1852 to consider increasing the number of hymns and paraphrases, the former committee submitted a selection to the General Assembly in 1861. The Assembly permitted the publication of this selection, but stressed that this permission did not mean authority to use in public worship, or official sanction of the selection.

In 1868 this Committee submitted 200 hymns as the SCOTTISH HYMNAL. After this draft hymnal had been sent down to Presbyteries, the Assembly authorised its publication, and permitted its use "in such congregations as might seek to avail themselves of it"<sup>1.</sup> in 1870.

The Psalmody Committee was appointed in 1862, after the Assembly had received an overture from the Presbytery of Paisley on the improvement of Psalmody. It was re-appointed annually. Reporting in 1863, it asserted that the root cause of bad music in the Church was "ministerial ignorance" of the principles of church music. It also blamed ill-qualified, poorly-paid precentors. It complained that many of the congregation were just hearers, who contributed nothing to the praise, also that some of the books of tunes in use were very bad. It recommended five books of psalm tunes.<sup>2.</sup>

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1. Report of the Committee on Psalmody and Hymns, 1932.  
 2. "Scotsman," 1. 6. 1863.

By 1867, the Committee on Psalmody was able to report to the Assembly that it had been instrumental in promoting:

1. The delivery of public lectures on psalmody.
2. The conducting of congregational classes.
3. The training of precentors.
4. The instruction of divinity students and teaching in<sup>1.</sup> schools.

Activities were curtailed by lack of funds, but the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND PSALM AND HYMN TUNE BOOK was published in 1868. After the fusion of the two committees the joint committee issued in 1874 PROSE PSALMS WITH RELEVANT CHANTS, and in 1875 a book of anthems.

For a time, the joint committee, out of the royalties from the sale of THE SCOTTISH HYMNAL, was able to give grants to precentors who held the committee's diploma, if they undertook to give thorough instruction in psalmody to congregations. This was discontinued in 1878, when the General Assembly claimed half of these royalties. An appendix to the SCOTTISH HYMNAL was published in 1885, a METRICAL PSALTER in the same year, a revised PROSE PSALTER <sup>and</sup> ~~AND~~ ANTHEM BOOK in 1888 and 1891 respectively.

In 1893, the General Assembly sanctioned the Committee's entering into conference with representatives of the Free and U. P. Churches, with a view to publishing a joint hymnal. When, however, the/

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1. Report of the Committee on Psalmody and Hymns, 1932.

/the draft of this hymnal was submitted in 1896, the General Assembly found "that its merits were not such as to justify the Church in setting aside THE SCOTTISH HYMNAL," and appointed a large committee to resume discussions on the proposed hymnal.<sup>1.</sup> THE CHURCH HYMNARY, as this volume came to be entitled, was authorised for use in 1898 by the Assembly.

A METRICAL PSALTER was issued in 1899 to bring the psalm tunes musically into line with the music of the new hymnary. 1911 saw the publication of an abridged PROSE PSALTER, and 1912 that of THE SCOTTISH MISSION HYMN BOOK, of which it was claimed: "looking to the wide range of its contents, the book will be found suitable for many and diverse uses - for home reading, for guilds, for services for the young, and for ordinary church services in addition to its primary purpose as a manual for mission use."<sup>2.</sup> Actually, this hymn book set forth in large measure that combination of Catholic and Evangelical teaching, which High Churchmen like John Macleod, James Cooper, and the Wotherspoons strove so earnestly to commend to the Church. The demand for this book proved disappointing.

In 1923, the Committee was allowed to publish A SELECTION FROM THE METRICAL PSALMS AND PARAPHRASES FOR USE IN CHURCHES, although the General Assembly had long refused to sanction any step/

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1. Report of the Psalmody and Hymns Committee, 1897.  
2. Report of the Psalmody and Hymns Committee, 1912.

/step which might encourage large parts ~~parts~~ of the psalter being left unsung.

The Committee busied itself in organising Choir Unions, in training organists and choirmasters, in giving lectures on church music to divinity students, and in providing grants in aid of psalmody.

A joint committee worked on the revision of THE CHURCH HYMNARY from 1922. When the draft of this revision was approved by the General Assembly in 1925, a minority report, signed by Rev. A. W. Wotherspoon and others, criticised "the impoverishment of the Hymnary... in certain types of hymn - hymns distinctively evangelical, and hymns of the Atonement, and hymns embodying the faith of the Trinity, and hymns for children, and specially ask attention to be drawn to the impoverishment of the baptismal section, in which the present Draft leaves only one hymn that is directly relevant to the Sacrament of Baptism. The space made vacant by these deletions has been in large part filled by the introduction of poems that are not hymns, and are unsuitable for use in public worship; which poems ought in any case to be reduced in number." <sup>1.</sup>

Some still cling tenaciously to the beloved SCOTTISH HYMNAL, but the General Assembly decided that no further steps now be taken to re-publish it. In 1926, it was still in use in 170 congregations. <sup>2.</sup>

In this year also, the Assembly approved of the revised draft of the/

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1. Report of the Committee on Psalmody and Hymns; Minority Report, 1925.
  2. Report of the Committee on Psalmody and Hymns, 1926.

/the CHURCH HYMNARY. 26 hymns were restored, 6 excluded from the draft, 14 new hymns were added, and the canticles were printed as in the Authorised Version. By 1928 three-quarters of a million copies of this revised CHURCH HYMNARY had been sold.

The General Assembly gave permission in 1927 for the publication of a revised METRICAL PSALTER. There was to be no revision of the words of the psalter and the whole psalter was to be printed in full, with a list of portions suitable for public worship appended. In 1928 permission was given to publish a limited number of prose psalms, pointed for use with Gregorian chants.

Apart from the routine work of these committees, one or two surveys or inquiries authorised by the General Assembly are important.

In 1869 the Assembly's Committee on Fast Days recommended that Fast Days be held on the same day throughout each Presbytery, county or large town, in order to end the practice whereby people flocked from one Fast Service to another, to the accompaniment of disorderly scenes. The Assembly also adopted the recommendation that the custom be encouraged of ministers occupying their own pulpits on the Fast Day, "thereby preparing their own flocks for the solemn service; and also, where the same is attainable and expedient, adopting the practice of simultaneous Communion."

The disorderly scenes disappeared, but so did the Fast Day. Before the close of the century, it retained its vitality only in the/

/the Highlands. Story wrote a pamphlet advocating its abolition, and urging the observance of Good Friday and Easter, with more frequent Communion.<sup>1.</sup> John Macleod moved its abolition in Glasgow Presbytery.

The Fast Day was found to interfere with business and industry. The people frequently treated it as a holiday. Many churchmen felt ashamed of the mockery of such a day, on which there was no real fasting. Its disappearance did not do all that some hoped for in the way of facilitating more frequent celebrations of Holy Communion.

In 1869 an overture on Baptismal Professions and Obligations was remitted to the Committee on Aids to Devotion. The overture asked that ministers be obliged to frame their baptismal instructions according to the DIRECTORY. Apparently, great diversity existed in the Church's practice at this time. Reporting in 1870, the committee declined to draw up a set form for sponsors or candidates, holding that rigid uniformity was undesirable. They pointed out that sponsors' vows refer only to their duties, and animadverted on the common misunderstanding regarding parents in the name of their children making baptismal engagements, and of catechumens taking upon themselves those obligations which their parents had undertaken for them at Baptism. The committee reminded the Assembly that, had the Scots had their way, the Apostles' Creed, or some explicit confession of/

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1. R. H. Story, ON FAST DAYS, 1876.

/of faith, would have been the sponsors' profession in the  
 DIRECTORY.

This was not the end of the General Assembly's difficulties with Baptism. In 1917 a committee was appointed to investigate the Church's law and practice in Baptism. In this year also the Assembly commended the observance of the Christian Year.

Twice within our period of study, reports were made on church music to the General Assembly.

In 1888, in discussing the proposed revision of the ANTHEM BOOK, the Committee on Psalmody and Hymns reported on the musical development of the time thus:

"From the commencement it was felt that, if we were to produce an anthem book at all fitted to hold its place in the services of the Church of Scotland for some years to come, we must take into account the extraordinary development in musical education and culture which has occurred since the publication of the existing book, now some thirteen years ago... though, no doubt, the increased interest in the propriety of our services is due to the generally higher standard of musical culture, it cannot be disputed that, in turn, the now rapidly extending use of the organ has had a stimulating effect on the musical tastes and wants of the congregations. It was also felt that account must be taken of the great importance now attached by the Scottish Education Department to the theory and practice/

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/practice of music."

The General Assembly of 1904 authorised eight queries on the conduct of praise to be sent to all Kirk Sessions.

1,249 out of 1,414 congregations had replied by 1906. The following results were tabulated:

There were in the Church 1050 choirs; 362 pipe organs; 324 American organs; 291 harmoniums; 129 "organs." Praise books in use were as follows:

533 congregations used the SCOTTISH HYMNAL ; 703 the CHURCH HYMNARY; 803 the BOOK OF PSALMS; 225 PSALMS IN METRE; 129 the SCOTTISH PROSE PSALTER; 453 the SCOTTISH ANTHEM BOOK.

In 921 congregations, the singing was said to be "hearty." In 339, anthems were sung regularly, in 212 occasionally, and in 76, on special occasions. These anthems were mostly sung before the sermon, but were liable to appear at almost any unlikely point in the service. The comments made in the returns show great diversity of practice in the conduct of praise. Clearly, in the period 1865 - 1905, the Church had moved a long way from the comparative unanimity and uniformity which had formerly prevailed in this matter.

One psalm per service was almost invariably ~~the~~ rule, and two psalms were common, the proportion of hymns sung being greater in the towns. Psalms and paraphrases predominated in Gaelic-speaking areas.

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1. Report of the Committee on Psalmody and Hymns, 1888.



Replies indicated that the psalms and paraphrases were not being supplanted by hymns. Frequently, it was reported that they were joined in more heartily than hymns.

Reports of supreme importance for the study of the revival of worship, were made in 1864, 1890 and 1891. As we have noted already, the Committee on Innovations disclosed a large measure of uniformity in the conduct of public worship throughout the Church in 1864.

The Committee on the Proper Conduct of Public Worship and the Sacraments, disclosed in its reports of 1890 - 1, changes so great that "if the worshippers of a past generation were to enter some of our churches, they would find little to remind them of the traditional forms with which they and their fathers were familiar,"<sup>1.</sup> and diversity so widespread as to be deemed improper in a National Church.

The reports of 1890 - 1 and the relevant discussions in the General Assembly, make it plain that:

1. Dubiety existed regarding the legal basis of the Church's worship.
2. Acts of the General Assembly passed in the last hundred years had been more honoured in the breach than in the observance.
3. Resistance to any form of worship imposed upon congregations from above was very strong.

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1. Report of the Committee on the Proper Conduct of Public Worship and the Sacraments, 1890.

4. Widely different views were held within the Church as to the nature and content of public worship.
5. That diversity of practice was still serious where it should be least manifest - e.g., in the administration of the Sacraments, in extracting vows from sponsors and catechumens, or at marriage.

b. The Church Service Society

The Church Service Society played a principal part in the revival of worship in the Church of Scotland. Whether a society with the same programme, but without leaders of the personality and learning which this Society enjoyed, could have exercised so much influence, is doubtful. Certain individual leaders within the Society really counted for more than the actual organisation and aim of the Society. But EUCHOLOGION, issued in the name of the Society, the chief vehicle of its influence, was a great factor in the development of the revival of worship.

Lee has been wrongly credited with being the founder of this Society. The Society owed its origin to Dr. Sprott's suggestion in his pamphlet, that such a society might be formed profitably.<sup>1.</sup> It owed something to the observations made by Dr. Cumming in his preface to his edition of KNOX'S LITURGY,<sup>2.</sup> and to the remarks made by Dr. Bisset in his address at the close of the Assembly in 1862.<sup>3.</sup>

No doubt, the proceedings in the Greyfriars' case facilitated its formation. The whole question of the reform of public worship had been ventilated. A strong body of opinion was now in favour of change. The Assembly had inclined to a reasonable toleration of such change. Accordingly, the Church Service Society stood a better chance/

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1. G. W. Sprott, op. cit., p. 5.  
 2. John Cumming, THE LITURGY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND OR JOHN KNOX'S BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, 1840.  
 3. cf. Supplement to "Edinburgh Evening Courant," 4.6.1862.

/chance of forbearance than its foundation might otherwise have encountered. Lee was made a vice-president, but found the Society unwilling to take over his book of prayers, although material from it was later embodied in EUCHOLOGION.

Not a few who desired changes in the Church's public worship were out of sympathy with Lee's manner of effecting such a change. Indeed, it is probably true that "the removal from the scene of his aggressive and often irritating personality tended to hasten a peaceable solution"<sup>1.</sup> in the question of reform of worship.

Founded in 1865 by R. H. Story, Cameron Lees and Campbell of Eastwood, the Society grew rapidly in numbers.<sup>2.</sup>

The constitution defined the scope of the Society thus:  
 "The object of the Society shall be the study of the liturgies - ancient and modern - of the Christian Church, with a view to the preparation and publication of forms of prayer for public worship, and services for the administration of the Sacraments, the celebration of marriage, the burial of the dead, etc."<sup>3.</sup>

At the outset, the Society was at pains to stress that its object was not the imposition of a liturgy on the Church.<sup>4.</sup> This was/

1. J. R. Fleming, A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1843 - 1929, Vol. II, p. 208.
2. For an account of its origin, see J. Kerr, THE RENASCENCE OF WORSHIP, pp. 6 - 8; MEMOIR OF R. H. STORY, by his daughters, pp. 65 - 68; G. W. Sprott, Introduction to EUCHOLOGION, 1905, pp. xvii - xix.
3. Constitution, Rule V.
4. cf. Church Service Society Report, 1868.

/was often re-emphasised by its members, although voices were often raised within and without the ranks of the Society, which pled for a partial or optional liturgy.

The Society at once set about preparing forms for sacramental and special services, as it ~~did not feel~~ that it was in the conduct of these that reform was most urgently demanded. The people, it was argued, did not know what to expect in these services.<sup>1.</sup>

For the rest, the Society sought to build up a liturgical and devotional treasury, upon which ministers could draw in framing their services. The Society's paper ON PUBLIC PRAYER explains its aim:

"It is presumed that the members of the society value highly the privilege of what is called 'free prayer' and that they would be unwilling to submit themselves to the yoke which neither their fathers nor they have been able to bear of a liturgy so rigid, albeit so beautiful, as that of the Anglican Church. But the privilege of free prayer is not to be taken to mean simply each clergyman's liberty to lead the devotions of his congregation according to his own idea or fancy, or as his spirit may be moved to pray. It most legitimately may have the higher meaning, that each clergyman of a Church, which, like ours, is a National branch/

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1. See "On the Use of EUCHOLOGION."

/branch of the Church Catholic, is at liberty as a minister of the Church Catholic, to use whatever in the recorded devotions of that Church he finds most suitable to his congregation's need. His own fountains of devotion may soon run dry, but those of the whole Church are not easily exhausted. The eclectic branch of the Society's work would proceed on the recognition of this principle. Its aim would be to search for, and to disentangle from all superstitious accretions or sectional peculiarities, the prayers of the faithful in all divisions of the Catholic Church, and to gather these, not into a formal manual of devotion, but into a great magazine of prayers, to which every minister might have access, and from which, each might draw, even as from a living fountain... The language of the Bible, even the Psalter, cannot supply all the devotional utterances we need, much less can the individual compositions of any one man, however rarely gifted. Nor can our wants be fully satisfied by any one liturgy, or the forms of any one Church - be it Greek, or Latin, or Reformed.

It seems most natural to seek the real magazine of adequate expression of Christian devotion in the accumulated treasures of the Church's own prayers - those vehicles of her worship which the living Bride of Christ, developing her own fitting phrases of thought

thought and feeling has produced according to her need." <sup>1.</sup>

This quotation well illustrates the stress on a fair form of words which was to be a dominant theme in the Society's activity.

Each member of the Society was expected to engage in liturgical research, and to submit draft services to the society for publication. But, as early as 1867, complaints were made that members did not even send in criticisms or suggestions to the editorial committee. <sup>2.</sup> The real liturgical work was done by a few scholars.

Wild accusations and deep-rooted suspicions attended the Society's formation, and only began to be dispelled after the publication of EUCHOLOGION. Fear of legal proceedings was a reality at first. H. J. Wotherspoon, the first probationer to be admitted a member, was warned of the possible consequences. <sup>3.</sup> John Macleod argued that if the question of conformity to the Church's Standards was raised, the so-called orthodoxy would be found to be heterodoxy. <sup>4.</sup> Sprott said the Society's aim was to obey the Church and to help ministers to fill up the injunctions of the DIRECTORY, reviving many elements enjoined by this, but long neglected. Story said <sup>5.</sup> they aimed at services based on Reformed Church principles.

The Society also continued the work of editing and annotating liturgical/

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1. Quoted by J. Kerr, op. cit., pp. 80 - 81.
  2. Church Service Society Report, 1866-7.
  3. Church Service Society Report, 1914.
  4. Church Service Society Report, 1876.
  5. Church Service Society Report, 1869.

/liturgical texts connected with the worship of the Scottish Church, which was begun by Sprott and Leishman in their edition of THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER AND THE DIRECTORY, published in 1868. This part of the Society's work set the historical background of the Church's public worship clearly before the readers, and furnished a reasoned defence of the changes in worship which the Society desired to see effected.

This awakening interest in liturgical studies was part of a widespread revival of interest, which began about the middle of last century. J. M. Neale's THE LITURGIES OF ST. MARK, ST. JAMES, etc., appeared in 1859, and his ESSAYS ON LITURGIOLOGY in 1863. Marshall's MONUMENTA LITURGICA came out in 1846, and Palmer's ORIGINES LITURGICAE in 1840.

Very probably, the LITURGY OF THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH, published in 1842, 1847 and 1850, which was to exert considerable influence on liturgical developments in Scotland, influenced the Church Service Society in its decision to prosecute their eclectic liturgical work. Material had been gathered for this liturgy from many sources, and at great trouble. Its untrammelled Catholicity would appeal to men like Story, who were growing impatient of confessional and conventional restraints. We seem to hear in the expression of the Church Service Society's aim, an echo of the liturgical ideal of the Catholic Apostolic Church, as it had been expressed recently - that its worship "should be in accord with the Holy/



/Holy Scriptures and that it should gather up into itself every pure and precious thing which has been developed in the Church in all past ages through the guidance of the Holy Spirit of Christ."<sup>1.</sup>

Those who were eager to improve worship within the Church of Scotland, were only too conscious of the satisfying beauty of the LITURGY OF THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH, which by contrast, showed up the liturgical needs of the National Church. Thus, Story, speaking of criticism made by a member of the Catholic Apostolic Church, of the Church of Scotland, because she alone among national churches lacked a ritual and organised form of worship, expressed the hope that EUCHOLOGION would some day be acknowledged as her own distinctive property.<sup>2.</sup>

The first edition of EUCHOLOGION, published in 1867, did not attempt to draft Sunday Services, but grouped its prayers according to type. A similar volume, bearing the same name, had been published at Oxford in 1847, but its prayers were intended for private, not public use.<sup>3.</sup>

In these terms, the Society defined its intention regarding use of prayers from EUCHOLOGION:

"The Society's aim... will be that they should be regarded as models or aids to devotion, and should be employed, not so as to supersede what is called 'free prayer,' but so  
As/

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1. H. C. Whitley, op. cit., p. 241.

2. Church Service Society Report, 1872.

3. EUCHOLOGION: A COLLECTION OF PRAYERS, FORMS OF INTERCESSION AND THANKSGIVING, LITANIES, ETC., FOR USE OF FAMILIES.

as to add richness to its language and solemnity to its worship...

Thus, possibly in the course of time, while public prayer will still remain essentially free and un-fettered, there may grow up a certain unity of form and of arrangement, and a certain fullness and richness of expression, which at present are too rarely found; and the people may be trained thereby to join more intelligently and reverently in the act of prayer."<sup>1.</sup>

The Society met with misunderstanding and abuse. Charges of wishing to introduce a liturgy, of "Romanism," of "aping Episcopacy," of "Broad Churchmanship," and of "sacerdotalism" lingered long. Membership of the Society was held in some quarters to be a breach of Ordination vows. The Society's work was viewed as "the thin edge of the wedge of formalism." In 1890 the Society was reminded<sup>2.</sup> that at almost every Assembly, it was attacked for "Romanising." In all seriousness, Dr. R. H. Fisher moved that ladies be admitted as members, as "they would remove the reproach of Romanism."<sup>3.</sup> But Dr. Henty summed up the real purpose of the society, as far as the rank and file of its members went, when he said their object was to make our worship "more attractive."<sup>4.</sup>

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1. Report read to, and adopted by, the Church Service Society, 31. 3. 1865, pp. 2 - 3.
  2. Church Service Society Report, 1890, p. 27.
  3. J. Kerr, op. cit., p. 12.
  4. Church Service Society Report, 1887, p. 24.

The charges that the Society wished to introduce a liturgy and was aping Episcopacy had, however, substance in them.

Constantly, the Society reiterated its determination not to seek to introduce a liturgy and its prizing of extemporary prayer.

In the sixth edition of EUCHOLOGION (1890) clearer provision for the introduction of "free and unwritten prayer" at certain points in the services was made at the Society's request.<sup>1.</sup> But little was done really to encourage extemporary prayer. The prayers in EUCHOLOGION can scarcely be taken as models for such. Sometimes, unwarrantedly extravagant denunciations of the "free prayer" of a past generation were engaged in, while the cry for at least a partial liturgy, was frequently heard at the Society's meetings.<sup>2.</sup>

Also, some, at least, within the Society, saw themselves to be preparing the way for something in the nature of a new BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, by providing the Church with material which could be used experimentally.<sup>3.</sup> To some extent this is what happened. The Order for Holy Communion from EUCHOLOGION was used at the General Assembly from 1890 to 1926,<sup>4.</sup> and PRAYERS FOR DIVINE SERVICE owes a debt to the same book.

The Society sought to repudiate the charge of "Anglicising" by/

1. C. S. S. Report, 1890, p. 28.

2. cf. J. Kerr, op, cit., p. 3;  
C. S. S. Reports, 1878, 1879.

3. cf. C. S. S. Reports, 1882 and 1887.

4. Sprott, Introduction to EUCHOLOGION, 1905, Appendix, p. 427.

/by the argument that ancient prayers taken from the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER were the common heritage of Catholic Christendom,<sup>1</sup> not the perquisite of the Church of England. But there can be no doubt that the Society was greatly influenced by the English PRAYER BOOK. This is most obvious in the seventh edition of EUCHOLOGION where the order of public worship is altered, so that the Lord's Prayer be said at the close of the first prayer, and the intercessions and thanksgiving precede the sermon. Sprott and Leishman dissented from the decision to make this change, seeing in it a departure from Primitive and Reformed usage, and a copy of Anglican Matins, instead of adherence to the order of the Eucharist.<sup>2</sup>

In 1886, Dr. Cooper recorded that in the editorial committee Dr. Donald Macleod "wanted the services more Anglican," and A. K. H. Boyd argued that "he did not say that by their changes, they would re-attract many persons who had joined the Episcopal Church, because if a person had left them from attachment to the liturgy of the Church of England, and was accustomed to that liturgy, he would not be brought back by any other liturgy, however well drawn up."<sup>3</sup>

Both EUCHOLOGION and Cooper's MANUAL FOR THE GUILD OF ST. MARGARET OF SCOTLAND incorporated the Litany from the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, attributed to Cranmer's pen.<sup>4</sup>

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1. C. S. S. Report, 1890.

2. Sprott, op. cit., pp. 66 - 71.

3. Quoted by J. Kerr, op. cit., p. 130.

4. cf. J. Dowden, THE WORKMANSHIP OF THE PRAYER BOOK, p. 144.

The Church Service Society published some seven editions of EUCHOLOGION. Apparently the preparation of the first edition took a considerable time, the bulk of the work being undertaken by G. W. Sprott, Principal Tulloch, and R. H. Story. Lee was opposed to its publication and thought his own book should have been taken over by the Society. He wrote a paper in 1866 entitled THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE SEVERALL PARTS OF PUBLIC WORSHIP which was not cordially received by the Society. Divergence of view within the Society as to the proper order for the ordinary Sunday Service was accentuated by this paper. As a result, no such order was included, and it was merely stated that "the Service on the ordinary Sunday should embrace three prayers and that these as much as possible be alike in length."

The first edition compares well with later editions. It contains many footnotes, indicating the sources of the prayers. There is a good preface, also good introductions to the various sections of the book. There is, for example, an analysis of Communion Services, which gives in tabular form the various parts of services used from the days of Justin Martyr. Under the sub-heading Reformed Services, seven different orders are set out, the latest being that of the Westminster DIRECTORY.

The second edition (1869) was given the sub-title "A Book of Common Order." It had four complete services, two for morning and two for evening. The first set were based on the works of Jeremy/

/Jeremy Taylor, the second were taken from the prayer book of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Orders for the Admission of Catechumens and for the Ordination of Ministers were added, and there were two important additional prefaces, one on Confirmation in the Reformed Churches, and one on the Presbyterian doctrine of the Ministry.

The third edition (1874) with its five orders of service, morning and evening, arranged according to the Sundays of the month, provided the pattern for all subsequent editions.<sup>1.</sup> The service for the fifth evening was taken entirely from the Book of Common Prayer. A new rubric was included in the Order for Holy Communion, permitting the old Scots custom of lifting the elements at the solemn setting apart before the consecration prayer.<sup>2.</sup>

In the fifth edition (1884) the Apostles' Creed was given for use at every service, and each intercessory prayer made to include thanksgiving for the faithful departed which previously was included in only two orders. New orders included were those for the Visitation of the Sick, the Admission of Elders, the Laying of the Foundation Stone of a Church and the Dedication of a Church. The Nicene Creed took the place of the Apostles' Creed at the Holy Communion, but the Creed was still embodied in a prayer. The Appendix contains material for "Daily and other Services," also the Litany from the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, with "Ministers" substituted for "Bishops, Priests,/"

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1. For the authorship of the various Sunday orders of service, see W. McMillan: EUCHOLOGION: THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, Church Service Society Annual, 1936 - 7, p. 28.
  2. EUCHOLOGION (4th edition), p. 179.

/Priests and Deacons."

The sixth edition (1890) is notable because it shows the full extent of the Anglicising spirit which was at work in the Society.

In the Sunday services, the traditional Scottish order, in which the intercessions followed the sermon, was departed from. Bolder still was the recommendation that the Te Deum be sung after the Old Testament Lesson and the Benedictus after the New Testament Lesson at the Morning Service, and that the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis be sung at the corresponding points in the Evening Service. The versicle and response and the Gloria Patri as in the PRAYER BOOK found their place after the first prayer. Rubrics were inserted asking the people to kneel for all the prayers. #

This edition has much to answer for in matter of innovation. Its order for the Sunday Service was based on Matins and Evensong instead of the ante-Communion. Unfortunately, this break with Scottish Reformed tradition was followed by PRAYERS FOR DIVINE SERVICE.

In the sixth edition, the services for the fifth Sunday were prepared largely by Professor Alan Manzies, one of the signatories of the "Broad Church Manifesto,"<sup>1</sup> which was sent to the editorial committee in 1888. This complained that the prayers were too doctrinal, the confessions of sin unrealistic, and that the note of service/

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1. EUCHOLOGION (1905) Appendix, p. 423.

/service was lacking in the devotions. It also objected to the use of the Apostles' Creed in every service, and argued that the use of extempore prayer should be more clearly provided for, in at least one part of the service.<sup>1.</sup>

The services for the fifth Sunday were made to include more congregational responses - a feature which was frequently advocated at meetings of the Society at this time.

Subsequent editions do not call for special mention, except the excellent edition published in 1905 with an Introduction by Sprott, which outlines the development of the revival of public worship in Scotland in the nineteenth century, and contains a valuable Appendix, which indicates the sources of the prayers in the book.

This comparison of these editions of EUCHOLOGION will indicate the practical part played by the Church Service Society in the revival of worship, and will also give an indication of the direction in which liturgical taste developed within that society.

Some of the finest devotional material produced by the Society is found in A BOOK OF COMMON ORDER FOR SUNDAY AND WEEK-DAY SERVICES,<sup>2.</sup> published in 1894.

The Society also succeeded in dispelling considerable prejudice and ignorance, by setting out the development of public worship in the Scottish Reformed Church. This was done through the publication, with historical Introductions and Notes, of various liturgical texts.<sup>3.</sup>

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1. J. Kerr, op. cit., pp. 95 - 97.
  2. For the authors of the various prayers, see Minute of the Church Service Society; Editorial Committee: 7.7.1891.
  3. These volumes were G. W. Sprott, LITURGIES SCOTTISH LITURGIES OF THE REIGN OF JAMES VI; H. J. WOTHERSPOON, THE SECOND PRAYER BOOK OF KING EDWARD VI; G. W. Sprott, THE LITURGY OF COMPROMISE.



In this way, the work begun by Sprott and Leishman in 1868 by the publication of their edition of KNOX'S LITURGY and the WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY was continued.

Another important contribution was the building-up of a collection of liturgical books which was presented to the library of the General Assembly<sup>1.</sup>

The Annual Meeting of the Society became a rendezvous for many<sup>of</sup> different shades of opinion who were interested in the improvement of the Church's services. It did much to popularise the movement. The real work of studying and editing was done by a few scholars. R. H. Story complained, as he looked round the Annual Meeting of 1870, that he saw only, "one or two gentlemen who had really endeavoured to put into practice in their own congregations, the principles they advocated."<sup>2.</sup> This criticism remained valid for many years.

From the beginning, the Society contained men of diverse theological persuasion,<sup>3.</sup> There was a strong Broad Church element. The suspicion of rationalism was marked at first. Sprott confessed he was often asked how he could be a member of such a society.<sup>4.</sup> There was Cooper with his mediaeval enthusiasms, and John Macleod with his Irvingite sacramental views, and the minister of Ayr with his sacramentarianism.<sup>5.</sup>

1. For a list of these, see J. Kerr, op. cit., pp. 66 - 71.

2. Church Service Society Report, 1870.

3. See Church Service Society Reports, 1887, 1891.

4. Church Service Society Report, 1876.

5. Dr. Dykes. See Church Service Society Report, 1871.

Freemasonry also played its part. Among the Society's papers are many Masonic orders of service. Story, McAdam Muir, and John Kerr, who were all prominent in the Society's life, were also Grand Chaplains of the Grand Lodge of Scotland.

Frequently, within the Society, it was reiterated that the Society must not represent a merely party view-point,

After the publication of what was tantamount to the last edition of EUCHOLOGION in 1896, the real work of the Society was finished. Tulloch thought the work of the Society was nearly completed in 1884. He saw a danger in the continued existence of societies within the Church, and thought the work of the Society should be taken over by the Church courts.<sup>1.</sup> Cooper said openly,<sup>2.</sup> before 1900, that the Society's work was over. But it was not until 1920 that the suggestion was made in the council of the Society that, in view of the extended scope of the work of the Committee on Aids to Devotion, and because of the cost of publication, the Society should be wound up.<sup>3.</sup>

The Society continued in being, although its work was so largely taken over by the relevant Assembly committee. A revision of EUCHOLOGION was begun in 1922, but dropped after 1929. The aim was to shorten the services, and to make them more suitable to general use throughout the Church."<sup>4.</sup>

As late as 1916, an urgent plea was made that the real witness and /

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1. Church Service Society Report, 1884. (p. 17)  
 2. J. Cooper, THE REVIVAL OF CHURCH PRINCIPLES IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.  
 3. Minute, 3.3.1920. 4. Church Service Society Minute, 13.7. 1922. —

/and work of the Society could only be maintained by a return to the study of the liturgies, and by keeping EUCHOLOGION and the Daily Offices in print at all costs.<sup>1.</sup> But this did not happen. The Society's interests were widened to include concern for all that was related to corporate worship generally. This became the special interest of the Society, rather than liturgical study.

One great contribution which the Society made, was to introduce imagination and variety into the Church's services. Previously, these services must often have been characterised by monotony. The Church Service Society became adept at drawing up special services, which included everything appropriate to the occasion. This was perhaps Cooper's great contribution.<sup>2.</sup> His gift for expressing appropriate thoughts in felicitous terms is seen in his published sermons.<sup>3.</sup> Notable examples of such orders of service, drawn up by the society, are those for the Royal Jubilee in 1887, and those for the Coronations of 1902 and 1911.

Another contribution made by the Society to the Church's public worship, was the introduction of order, classification, tidiness, accurate quotation, and absence of repetition into the common prayers.

The Society did much, too, to foster uniformity, order and dignity in the conduct of the sacramental and occasional services.

EUCHOLOGION must have been a guide to many probationers.

A. K. H. Boyd/

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1. Letter from Rev. R. S. Kirkpatrick to Dr. Wallace Williamson, 31. 10. 1916.  
 2. cf. C.S.S. Annual, 1947, pp. 6 - 8. 3. See KINDNESS TO THE DEAD. —

/A. K. H. Boyd testified to the help which the volume had given to divinity students at St. Andrews. General improvement in the conduct of worship owed much to the book, which was used in some churches as a prayer book (we hear of "pulpi~~t~~ editions") in whole, or in part. In still more churches its order of service was followed, and its model services provided an aid to the minister in his leading of prayer, either extemporaneously or by reading from a manuscript. (It was admitted in 1912 within the Church Service Society, that the book as a form of service was not, and could not be, in general use.)<sup>1</sup>

But, as Lord Sands pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the Society's activity was only one stream in the revived devotional life of the Church. There was another stream. Men like Professor Flint and Dr. Archibald Scott stood for a more careful preparation of non-liturgical prayer. Perhaps this was the main stream. EUCHOLOGION, the awakened interest in liturgies, the initiation of careful pastoral training for Divinity students, and the popular clamour for more attractive services, made ministers more concerned, interested, self-conscious, and zealous in the matter of their public prayers. Both in the U. P. and Free Churches, societies came to be formed for the enrichment of public devotion, which was claiming general attention among Church people.

Neither in 1867, nor in 1905, when the first and last editions of/

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1. Church Service Society Council Minute, 12. 3. 1912.  
 2. Lord Sands, op. cit., p. 203.

/of EUCHOLOGION came out, could a complete liturgy have been introduced into the usage of the Church. John Macleod, Spratt and others had often said that the congregations were not ready for such a step, even if it could be accomplished within the letter of the Law. The circulation of EUCHOLOGION prepared the way for the official recognition of PRAYERS FOR DIVINE SERVICE.

It must, however, be noted that a group of liturgical scholars, like the leaders of the Church Service Society, in preparing orders of service, which were not to be submitted to the Assembly for official sanction, which did not need to be such as could, or would, be put into immediate use in the average parish church, exposed themselves to the danger of composing services which were not likely to be typical of the public worship of the Church. The Society engaged in some wishful thinking. The orders of service which they published sometimes expressed what in their view these services should be, rather than put into a fair form the type of service which was to be found throughout the Church. The fundamental assumption that only Laud's folly and Puritan influence prevented the Kirk from inheriting a liturgical service underlay all the society's work.<sup>1</sup> But the mass of the people and the majority of the clergy, long used to a simple, free, and direct type of service, in all probability did not share this view.

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1. Church Service Society Report, 1885, p. 24.

The Society made its contribution towards the Church Union of 1929. After the Great War, representatives of the U. F. Church Worship Association attended the Society's annual meetings until the amalgamation of the two Societies, in 1930.

c. The Scottish Ecclesiological Society

The Scottish Ecclesiological Society grew out of a merging # in 1903 of the Aberdeen and Glasgow Ecclesiological Societies, which were founded in 1886 and 1893 respectively.

The Society's aims were defined as:

1. The study of the principles of Christian worship and of Church worship, and the allied arts which minister thereto.
2. The diffusion throughout Scotland of sound views and the creation of a truer taste in such matters.

Principal T. M. Lindsay, Sir George Adam Smith, Dr. John Caird, Bishop Chinnery- Haldane, the Rector of Blairs' College, the Marquis of Bute, for example, were all at one time members. Prominent among the architect members were Rowland Anderson and P. Macgregor Chalmers.

Nevertheless, it was no exaggeration which saw in Professor James Cooper the society's "only begetter," the one who was "the soul of it through many years... he knew the members of it, as no one else did, and the subjects of its researches and discussions in a wider view than any other." <sup>1.</sup> Cooper's love of colour, his interest in form, his conservative spirit, his interest in the mediaeval Church, stamped their mark upon the society.

The formation of the society was probably inspired by the example/

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1. TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1922-3, p. 5.

/example of the Camden Society, which had successfully fostered a revival of Church architecture within the Church of England, which presumed that Gothic was the only true Christian type of architecture, and had united concern over symbolism and beauty in Church architecture, and worship with High Church teaching on the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments.

"No doubt," admitted Cooper, "the most perfect sanctuary could not make a bad man good; and aesthetic emotions were not religion. But it was not right to rear a ~~mason~~ mean fabric to God's honour, when better could be procured, while the incongruous decorations, like bad music, tended rather to distract than to soothe the worshipper. There was only too ample a field in Scotland for the society's operations; and if their numbers were at present small, they might take courage from the great work that had been done in England by the Cambridge Ecclesiological Society, which taking its rise among a few Cambridge undergraduates, had proved an important factor in the revival alike of religion and of architecture, in the Church of England."<sup>1</sup>

Many excellent papers on liturgical, musical and ecclesiological subjects were read to the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, as its published TRANSACTIONS show. A better taste, especially in the restoration and decoration of churches was created in Scotland. There was need for this. D. Y. Cameron could with truth say in 1935 that Presbyterianism had paid no heed to Art until recently, and that ignorance/

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1. TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1887, p. 7.—



/ignorance, bad taste, and the need for artistic education were a menace to the Church of Scotland. A comparison between the restoration of St. Giles' (1883) and that of Holy Trinity Church, St. Andrews (1909) is an indication of the change of taste that had taken place.

The Society's ideals were notably expressed in stone and lime through the work of Macgregor Chalmers.

As far as the Church of Scotland is concerned, the society's influence was exercised mainly in those congregations in which there was already growing up concern for the principles of worship, and a readiness to employ symbolism and meaningful decoration. No doubt, however, the creation of the General Assembly's Committee on Artistic Questions and the development of closer Presbyterial supervision of the introduction of memorials, furnishings, etc., into churches, were partly a result of the society's witness.

But even in churches where there was ~~some~~ <sup>for</sup> sympathy ~~to~~ seemliness and order, the society was not always listened to. The society did not succeed in preventing an organ being placed below the east window of St. Machar's, Aberdeen,<sup>1.</sup> and regretted its inability to secure that the choirs at Paisley Abbey and St. John's, Perth,<sup>2.</sup> be used for a long table to seat the communicants.

The society set the Church of Scotland an example, which did not pass unheeded, in studying the Church's liturgical and ecclesiological/

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1. See TRANSACTIONS OF THE ABERDEEN ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1893.  
 2. See TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1929.

/ecclesiological heritage. Such study tended to remain the interest of a few specialists. Even among the clergy, there remained those who cared for none of these things. The society was not so successful in helping the Church to evolve a type of church building, which was suited to her type of worship in the light of modern requirements, and yet in keeping with her theological and liturgical inheritance.

The society was practically a pioneer in giving serious study to the principles of public worship,<sup>1.</sup> at a time when innovations in worship were coming in without being regulated by any accepted, underlying theory. Nevertheless, the society saw no incongruity in the erection of a church for Calvinist worship, based on the plan of a monastic church, with halls, guild rooms, etc., after the plan of monastic offices.<sup>2.</sup>

There were those within the society who thought of new churches after the church plan propagated widely by the Camden Society - with a deep, chancel, choir stalls, prayer desk, eagle lectern, and a small side pulpit. They did not question the suitability of such a plan for Presbyterian worship. There were those within the society who closed their eyes to the realities of the Church of Scotland's position as a child of the Reformation. At times, their enthusiasm/

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1. See e. g., J. Cooper, THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP; Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, 1886, pp.12-20.
  2. Barony Church, Glasgow, which was based on a 13th century monastery with its conventual buildings.

/enthusiasm for mediaeval churchmanship rather carried them away.

There was a tendency to revive symbols, without stopping to ask if the Church of Scotland now believed all that was once implied by the symbol. We read that the society expressed approbation of the new Holy Table at St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, which was "based upon early examples of the Byzantine date with adaptations of the best period of Italian Renaissance work, to make it in harmony with the architecture of the church," and of the south transept of that church, where there had been erected a window depicting the Life of St. Cuthbert, in which featured monks, St. Cuthbert's shrine, and the Priory of Lindisfarne,<sup>1</sup> likewise the windows in St. Margaret's, Barnhill, which were dedicated to "the Blessed Virgin, St. Margaret with the black rood of Scotland, etc."<sup>2</sup> Seemingly, it was permissible to re-introduce a stone Holy Table, without accepting the doctrines of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and of the Presence of Christ's Body and Blood on the Altar, with which such a structure was associated. Apparently, stained glass windows representing monks could be erected for the edification of worshippers in church, because they reminded the Established Church of her long history (and perhaps distinguished her/

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1. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ABERDEEN ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1896, pp.118-9.
  2. TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1923, p. 11.

/her more clearly from Dissent, amid the bitterness of the Disestablishment campaign), although the Church repudiated vows of celibacy and the attitude to the flesh and this world which underlies monasticism in general.

Cooper issued a not untimely warning lest the society should become merely a gathering of antiquarians.<sup>1</sup> He felt that the society's interests must be not merely in ecclesi<sup>a</sup>stical relics, but supremely in meeting the needs of the time. Cooper in particular, and the society in general, were later viewed as reactionary, and as not making adequate concessions to modern thought.<sup>2</sup>

It must, however, be remembered that the day was not far distant when seating capacity, even the amount to be received in seat rents, had been the dominant consideration in the erection or alteration of Scottish parish churches. The choir of Coldingham Priory, patched up to serve as a parish church, had been crammed with seating for 800 persons. Cameron Lees had encountered difficulties in the restoration of St. Giles' over the loss of seat rents. The society did much to spread the view that a church could be built, not merely as a place for hearing the Word of God, but even to the glory of God.

Although there was no open repudiation of the Reformed belief, that God's presence was not found in any special manner (as in the Reserved Sacrament, for instance) in church, the society deepened for/

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1. See TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1923, p. 11.

2. cf. A. L. Drummond, THE CHURCH ARCHITECTURE OF PROTESTANTISM, p. 275.—

/for many the reverence <sup>for</sup> ~~in~~ all that pertains to the House of God.

All art, save that of the silversmith, had been well-nigh banished from the Kirk by the Reformation. This society played a vital part in bringing into the service of the sanctuary architecture, music, stained glass, wood-carving, metal work, painting, embroidery and sculpture. The society acted on the principle outlined by Cooper in his presidential address:

"There still exists among us here, far too inadequate a sense of the lowly and awe-struck reverence due to Almighty God from the creatures of His hand: of the holiness which becometh His house forever: of the anxious care that ought to be bestowed on the fulfilling, for His glory, of every part of the worship it hath pleased Him to ordain: of the wealth of loving sacrifice which we ought, in all reason, to pour out at the Pierced Feet of Him who bought us with His own Blood." <sup>1.</sup>

Just how jealously this society watched over the restoration of Scotland's ancient shrines, and how earnestly it desired to see accomplished further restorations - e.g. the nave at Dunkeld Cathedral or Jedburgh Abbey - can be seen from Cooper's excellent presidential/

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1. J. Cooper, THE FINE ARTS AS HANDMAIDS TO THE CHURCH'S WORSHIP;  
Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, 1913,  
p. 5. 116 - 126.

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/presidential address of 1914.

The catalogue of the Exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art, which was held by the society in 1914, indicates how thorough and successful had been the revival of craftsmanship in this sphere in Scotland in the sixty years previous.<sup>2.</sup>

The society knew very well the architectural travesties, from which it sought to deliver Scotland.

"I have seen," complained Cooper, "churches in Scotland 'decorated' in a way much more suggestive of a gin-palace than of the House of God; and there are too many cases where the comfort, not to say the cosiness, of the place is much more prominent than its sacredness. The handsome new Free Church, in Drumsheugh Gardens, Edinburgh, is an illustration internally of this latter fault. The arrangements seem to have been made primarily with the view of the congregation getting out easily."<sup>3.</sup>

"The people of Kelso," he lamented, "got, instead of their splendid Norman Abbey, 'an octagonal structure' which has been described as the 'ugliest parish church in Scotland, but an excellent model for a circus.' Money had been lavished in vain."<sup>4.</sup>

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1. J. Cooper, THE RESTORATION, REPAIR, AND RE-USE OF ANCIENT CHURCHES IN SCOTLAND; Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, 1914, pp. 116 - 126.
  2. See TRANSACTIONS OF THE SCOTTISH ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1914, pp. 179 - 184.
  3. J. Cooper, PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN FAITH AND WORSHIP APPLIED TO THE STRUCTURE AND DECORATION OF CHURCHES; Transactions of the Glasgow Ecclesiological Society, 1895, p. 22.
  4. J. Cooper, THE RESTORATION, REPAIR, AND RE-USE OF ANCIENT CHURCHES IN SCOTLAND; Transactions of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, 1914, p. 121.

SECTION 8REVIEW OF THE REVIVAL OF CHURCH WORSHIP. 1840 - 1900.

The revival of worship was both furthered and hindered by the fact that diverse factors exerted their influence on its development, and men of differing opinions co-operated in its prosecution.

A sincere concern for the welfare of the Church of Scotland and for the spiritual needs of the people motivated all parties. Ecclesiastical statesmanship and worldly wisdom played their part. The taste and fashion of the times exerted a great influence upon all parties. Few could desist from reviewing their Church's worship in the light of the public worship of Anglicanism. The desire to make public worship more objective and less individualistic was widespread, as was the desire to give the people more part in the service. All these factors worked for order, seemliness, variety, and richness in worship.

The argument that Puritan influences had despoiled the Church's worship was generally accepted. A historical foundation for the type of worship which many wished to see established in the Church was sought in the writings of Calvin and Knox, in the practice of the Church of Scotland just after the Scottish Reformation, and in the worship of other Reformed Churches.

Largely because men of differing churchmanship co-operated to further the revival, and in some measure, because it was not expedient to speak out too plainly, the aims of the promoters of the movement were not quite so clearly defined at first, as were those of their opponents, who claimed to defend "use and wont," "purity of worship," and to resist Anglicanising influences. Nor did they speak with their opponents' unanimity or monotony.

The Broad Church school was strongly represented in the movement for reform of worship. Men like Tulloch, Story, and Caird linked reform of worship with the plea for a relaxed formula of subscription to the Church's Standards. They stood for toleration and progress. Like Lee, they saw such reform as wise statesmanship for a Church under attack. They examined the existing type of public worship in the light of aestheticism and propriety.

Sprott and Leishman represented a group, which, rejoicing in the Scottish Reformed heritage, and stoutly defending the validity of Presbyterian Orders and the agreement of Scottish traditions in public worship with those of the Primitive Church, deprecated all efforts to make the Church of Scotland a pale imitation of the Church of England in her worship, and sought to base reformation in worship on Scottish Church practice after 1560, and before Puritanism/



/Puritanism had, as they asserted, denuded the Church's worship of many Catholic features. This group was eager to see all change in the Church's worship regulated by a proper understanding of the Church's true historical and doctrinal position.

Leishman once expressed doubt<sup>1</sup> as to whether the Church of Scotland would ever understand all that John Macleod stood for. In some ways, Macleod stood alone, representing a Catholic-Evangelical position, but he was the spiritual father of a man like Wallace Williamson, who did much for the movement, and he exercised a profound and lasting influence on the Scottish Church Society. Macleod desired to see made central in the Church's worship, that sacramental teaching which stemmed from Irving's teaching, and which would provide the inspiration and power for a deeply spiritual personal religion. His high views of the Ministry, the Church, and the Sacraments, his interest in the Tabernacle as a type of Christian worship, and his emphasis on the Ascension, the Second Coming, and the work of the Holy Spirit, made a fresh and devotionally inspiring contribution to the revival of worship.

There were those, too, for whom the re-union of non-Roman Christendom was the ultimate goal of all improvement in Church worship. Such men were Tulloch, A. K. H. Boyd and William Milligan./

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1. Quoted in R. S. Kirkpatrick, THE MINISTRY OF JOHN MACLEOD IN THE PARISH OF GOVAN, p. 188.

/Milligan. Distressed by the petty ecclesiastical divisions within Scotland, impressed by the Oxford Movement and its claims, and deeply conscious of the sin of schism, they longed for order in worship, and for a more Catholic type of Church life, in which worship would not be dominated by preaching, and where the Christian Year would be observed, the validity of the Ministry safe-guarded by lawful Ordination, and the Sacraments would be afforded their due place in the Church's life. Pre-eminent in this school was James Cooper, who in some respects, with his conservative attitude to Biblical Criticism, his devotion to Catholic practice, hastily and harshly cast out at the Reformation, and by his piety, was the Scottish Pusey. With Cooper, the quest for re-union predominated. The revival of worship, rightly guided and used, would prepare the Church of Scotland for this.

These ideals lay behind the movement. There was, of course, some overlapping of ideals between the different groups of churchmen. Over and above all this, the great mass of the clergy and people were gradually, but surely, moving into a greatly-changed type of public worship. Swept on by the rising tide of innovation, congregation after congregation adopted changes in worship, until, at the end of the century, those who could remember the Church's worship before 1850 expressed their astonishment at the changes which they had seen.

In these changes, popular demand and changing taste, the desire for/

/for seemly and less dull services, were the chief factors. But, largely unconsciously, this popular movement was in part a reaction against the Calvinist worship of the past - with its exaltation of God's will, its debasing of human prowess, its stress on hearing the Word, its exclusion of symbol, its suspicion of ceremony. The mass of the people had never known Calvinist worship as Calvin wished it; they knew only a somewhat perfunctory, truncated form of it, which doubtless would have offended Calvin not a little.

The mass of the people did not quite know where they were going, except that they felt that they were escaping out of a form of worship which many now felt confined, rather than expressed their devotions. They were greatly influenced by Anglican and Non-conformist worship. The taste of change whetted their appetite for more. Tulloch believed that it was the death of the belief in the Divine Right of Presbytery, which let in the flood of change,

The popularity of hymn-singing played a large part in modifying the people's theology. Gore believed that the most unorthodox thing the Oxford Movement ever did was to introduce hymn-singing into the Church of England. Hymns made easier the introduction of a vaguer, more liberal the theology. The awe and mystery with which Predestination and Eternal Punishment invested the old "preaching service" were modified in the experience of worshippers who/

/who rejoiced in the Fatherhood of the God of Love. But the "Jesus Worship," which became a pronounced feature among some Non-conformists, cannot be said to have displaced the Scottish Church's Calvinist inheritance of the Sovereignty of God among His worshipping people.

In a comparatively short time, great improvements were effected in public worship in the Church of Scotland. The didactic element had a less prominent place. Sermons were briefer and more practical. Public prayer improved in its construction and content. More variety and less rigidity was observed in the subjects of prayer. The observance of the Christian Year began to come in slowly.

Holy Communion was celebrated rather more frequently, although, as the custom of attending the Communion Seasons ~~was~~ in neighbouring parishes died out, perhaps the people did not communicate more frequently. There was a better understanding of the nature of the vows which ought to be asked from sponsors at Infant Baptism and from catechumens. Marriages and Baptisms were occasionally celebrated in Church. In a few parishes, a Daily Service was established.

Special attention was paid to the conduct of sacramental and occasional services. The pastoral training of the clergy began to receive something of the attention it merited. Church music/

/music and architecture received much attention. The choir movement was a strong one, and the prejudice against musical instruments in public worship was practically overcome in the Established Church. With the restoration of St. Giles', and the erection of Govan Parish Church, the movement for restoring and building churches was well on its way.

Most significant of all, people were concerned about all these things. They mattered. Men had proved that their opponents were wrong when they accused them of being pre-occupied with the trimmings and trappings of worship, while they neglected the orthodox Faith. Men began to see that an adequate expression of the Christian Faith in their time demanded concern for such things.

Some could put forward excellent reasons for the changes which they effected in public worship. Much scholarly work was done in studying the worship of the Church of Scotland since the Reformation, and in spreading knowledge of the ancient liturgies. A permanent contribution of value was made, which (among other things) prepared the way for the official sanction of PRAYERS FOR DIVINE SERVICE by the General Assembly.

The Church Service Society was able to accomplish much which it could not have done at the time as an official society or committee of the Church. On the other hand, the Aids to Devotion and Psalmody and Hymns Committees were able to achieve much, because they/

/they were free from suspicion of Episcopal leanings, which were long associated in many minds with the Church Service Society.

Yet had the reformers or innovators - call them what you will - had they been united like the Tractarians, by adherence to a common, circumscribed theological standpoint, they would have been able to control and direct the reform of public worship much more effectively.

Changes were dictated by changing popular taste, and expedited by relaxation of theological standards. Broadly speaking, in so far as theological belief inspired changes in worship, it was a belief in tolerance and progress, rather than intense conviction regarding sacramental grace or ministerial order. Although one must hasten to add that this element was strongly represented by some who argued for a worship which would be in keeping with the Church's Standards, her practice in liturgical matters in the years 1564 - 1645, and the usage of the Church, Catholic and Reformed.

An important factor was the realisation that at all costs the suspicion of wishing to foist a liturgy upon the Church had to be warded off. Thus the Aids to Devotion Committee did not for years attempt to draw up any form of service for use at a regular diet of Church worship, and the Church Service Society confined itself to drawing up a set of model forms of service to guide clergy and people, which could be used in church in whole or in part, when, and as, they could. The practice of smuggling a prayer book into church/

/church arose after Lee had blazed the trail, as did the practices of memorising snippets of printed services, and of adapting (sometimes crudely) published orders of service.

More unfortunate was the stigma which men felt attached itself to them, if they ~~did not~~ read at worship one of the forms of service from EUCHOLOGION. They were singling themselves out. In the eyes of many, they were showing lack of ministerial ability, even of spirituality. Whereas, if even a partial liturgy had been drawn up whereby, in its use, ministers would everywhere (had they chosen to read their prayers) have been following the same order, they would have felt that the question of personal choice was excluded, and that they were conducting the Church's service.

Of course, KNOX'S LITURGY had left much to the discretion of the individual minister, and Scottish tradition, as it developed, left practically everything to his discretion in the conduct of worship. But if those who now wished to see a more formal, better ordered, more uniform type of service established throughout the Church were sincere in their efforts, they possibly would have been better to have prepared one order for Sunday worship instead of five. If one such order had been drawn up, in which the prayer of confession, the absolution, and the general thanksgiving were fixed, and if suitable congregational responses had been included, a liturgical service with scope for free prayer might have been established, at least in those congregations which were willing to make/

/make a sacrificial stand for such a service on principle, and who would have used it, despite misrepresentation.

It must be admitted, however, that to have done this, might well have led to fresh proceedings in the courts of the Church. Also, any such order for public worship would probably have been too dated by ~~the~~ taste and inexperience of the time, to have remained permanently acceptable to the Church. The BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER was often cited as an illustration of the "rigid" type of liturgy, from the use of which the Church of Scotland was glad to be free. But the distinction between one order for Sunday worship, which, while it allowed a large measure of freedom, was to be the same everywhere, and a book containing a selection of orderd, the choice of which was in the hands of the minister, was not sufficiently considered.

Further, while a body like the Church Service Society frequently recorded its high evaluation of extemporary prayer, and its determination to foster it in public worship, little was ever done to enrich such prayer by retreats, manuals, prayer meetings, prayer fraternities among the clergy. EUCHOLOGION certainly provided model forms of prayer and a good prayer vocabulary, but the general set-up of the volume was not calculated to encourage extemporary prayer. Ere long, the prayers of the younger clergy were admitted, even by Sprott, not to be so good as those of their predecessors.



The most successful part of this work of drawing up forms of service lay in the department of Sacramental and Occasional Services. In these services the practice of the Church was, to a considerable extent, in the course of time regularised and improved in form and content.

The Church Service Society made a major mistake, when, refusing to listen to John Macleod,<sup>1.</sup> it declined to make the Eucharist the main Sunday service, but continued to frame Sunday Morning Services, which were quite separate from the celebration of the Lord's Supper.

Although there is an historical distinction between the Liturgy of the Word and the Liturgy of the Upper Room, and it could be argued that the Morning Service of EUCHOLOGION corresponded to the Liturgy of the Word, and was therefore part of the Eucharistic Service, the essential unity in the Divine Service of the Word and the Sacrament was not restored. An opportunity was lost. The error was made worse, when, in the later editions of EUCHOLOGION, the Morning Service was modelled on Matins, and the Intercessions were made to precede the sermon.

Thus was lost the opportunity of at least testifying to the one change in public worship which above all others really mattered - the restoration of the EUCHARIST to the place in the Church's worship/

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1. See Church Service Society Report, 1871.

/worship which it was intended to occupy.

Results were not altogether happy in some of the external details of the ordering of public worship. As standing at prayer went out, kneeling did not become general. Sitting - often lounging, or "hunkering," as Cooper described it, became the rule. Judged by the standards of the Primitive Church and the Reformed Churches, and by those of reverence, sitting was a retrograde step. It was regretted by Sprott and others. The practice of permitting the people to remain in their pews to receive the Holy Communion, spread unchecked. Thus was lost the important symbolism of deciding to go forward and to sit with others at the Lord's Table. Something was lost which stressed the fact that to communicate was an act of faith and consecration on the part of the individual. The new practice increased the danger into which the Calvinist interpretation of the Presence of Christ in the Supper is ever in peril of falling into, among the less godly - that of seeing in the Bread and Wine nothing but symbols, which neither exhibit nor convey the very Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ.

In smaller churches, where precentors had sometimes been hard to find, harmoniums and organs were assets. In larger churches, the organ sometimes obtruded itself obnoxiously upon the eyes and ears of the worshippers. While choirs did much to enrich congregational praise, and to enlist youth in the service of the Church, they too, were sometimes given too prominent a place in worship, and were even seated, as if for a musical entertainment.

The hymns made the services brighter and more joyful. They added variety to the service and enabled the people to take more part. They inspired much popular devotion. Ministers, formerly blamed for introducing outre petitions into their prayers, were now chided for their indiscreet choice of hymns, as a wider repertoire became available. The taste for a gushy, sentimental type of hymn was too readily catered for. Many who could remember the praise of a former day regretted the change. "I am grateful," said A. M. Fairbairn, "that my childhood was nurtured on the Book of Psalms, rather than on the jingling verses that celebrate the 'Sweet Saviour' or protest how I love 'my Jesus.'"<sup>1</sup>

"Somehow or other," wrote H. J. Wotherspoon, "our people have been put off it. Silence has become a habit. It is not always only in anthems, or in prose chanting, or in rarely-used hymns, or the hymns that are unsuited to congregational use (of which we have enough) - but give them now the Old Hundredth, or Coleshill, or St. Paul's, and some will hum it, and most stand resignedly till it is over; when a generation ago the walls of the church would have vibrated to the tide of song, and every soul present have been carried into strong emotion."<sup>2</sup>

Formerly, the people sang the familiar psalm tunes - there was no one else to do it. There was little refinement of execution but it was a sacrifice of praise offered by the people themselves. Now/

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1. A. M. Fairbairn, STUDIES IN RELIGION AND THEOLOGY, p. 272.

2. H. J. Wotherspoon, THE PRESENT STATE OF CHURCH MUSIC IN SCOTLAND; THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE ABERDEEN ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1891, p. 37.

/Now there was an unfortunate tendency for the congregation to leave the music to the choir and organ. "But," wrote Dr. Wother-  
 spoon, "the use of hymns may be overdone. How sparingly they occur in the Catholic rituals. How few existed previous to the Reformation. The ages during which worship was most earnestly cultivated, produced only a handful of hymns for general use. Subtract the fixed hymns-proper of festivals and seasons and commemorations; and there is nothing left comparable to our vast collections."<sup>1.</sup>

Cleaner and better appointed churches became general. Churches were beginning to resemble places of worship, rather than mere auditoria. Chancels, stained glass, Holy Tables, robed choirs, even prayer-desks appeared. The then popular Gothic style has since been termed "Victorian Gothic." Somehow, it tends, despite some excellent examples, to be an expression of the taste of the times, rather than to recapture the sense of mystery and adoration associated with original Gothic work. Churches had been built, or were to be built, which were noble expressions of the highest ideals of the revival of worship. But many of the new churches now seem heavy, pretentious, fussy in decoration and redolent of a sentimental piety.

In the rush to build chancels after the pattern of Anglicanism, the essential proximity of Word and Sacrament, so effectively symbolised by the central pulpit with a Holy Table set in the midst of the worshippers, common in former days, was rather lost to view.

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1. Ibid, p. 41.

Generally, however, the remote Holy Table set in the inmost recess of a chancel, which was symbolic of the Catholic, sacrificial type of worship, rather than of the Reformed, prophetic type, which centres round the proclamation of the Word, meant no radical change in the type of worship offered. The Table chiefly provided an opportunity for a display of skill in floral decoration on the part of the ladies of the congregation. Sometimes, with its array of "dining-room" chairs set behind it, it provided a less satisfying point of focus for the gaze of the worshippers than the old canopied pulpit with its open Bible.

This time of change has been well summed up in the words of one who lived through it: "We have left the old - that was inevitable - and we have not yet assimilated the new - a good deal of it, one humbly hopes, is too indigestible to be assimilated. Tradition, custom, association, are important elements in the joy of worship... Now there is a restfulness in traditional worship, which is not grievously wanting in tentative worship. We have left our tradition - a brief one, it is true, but having its sanctity and assurance for us, who knew no other; and we have not fallen back on the older tradition, which if it had been meantime possible, would have been our safest guide... Ours is no longer the worship of those immediate puritan fathers of ours, and just as little of those remoter fathers, who worshipped in a forgotten beauty of praise, and whose inheritance of holy song waits us still, when we care to/

/to claim it. At present, ours is the worship of no one else in creation - not even of the next parish: for what two churches of ours have the same service on the same day? Some transitions are no doubt more confused and confusing than ours: and that which we are conducting may seem to excel in sheer muddlement. Give us time, however, and we may begin to see our way. We are, be it remembered, the victims of circumstances. No other Reformed Church has been placed in at all the same position. We have walked for long in the straitest Puritanism - yet we have retained many Catholic instincts, much churchly culture and dignity of thought concerning sacred things. Close beside us, the great Anglican Communion has kept translating Catholicism to us, interpreting to us Catholic worship in our own language, and illustrating to us our own ideas and beliefs in the most venerable forms; continually showing to us that pure doctrine and apostolic order are compatible with solemnity and beauty of worship; and that a Reformed Church may use all the Catholic apparatus of devotion, without compromise of its doctrinal position. And for many a day before we moved out of the side eddy in which we lay becalmed, we had watched all this appreciatively. Then, when we could no longer forbear, we threw ourselves upon these stores of ancient accumulation - they were open to us, and we seized on this and that, as it attracted us - bits and scraps of ritual, shreds and patches/

/patches of ornament - to fix them here and there upon our service, and stitch them haphazard into our worship; carried off our plunder to our glens, as of old in many a foray, and proceeded to adorn ourselves with precious things, of whose use and meaning we had little idea. We Scots are always in extremes: we begin with anthems before we have learned to say Amen; one day we will have no organ on any terms, and the next we build a chancel to our preaching place and fill it with an organ - we have paid hundreds of pounds for it, and we mean to have the worth of our money - so the piece of machinery is set up, like a Dagon in the Sanctuary, that we may worship toward it, and a pulpit is bracketed above the keyboard; just now we will sing nothing but inspired psalms, and in ten years, you will hardly hear four verses of a psalm in a Sunday morning, but hymn upon hymn, till you are cloyed with a diet of honey. Our service has become like nothing in the world but a local museum, where antique fragments, beautiful in themselves, are placed in the order of discovery - along with much 'ancient and modern rubbish.'

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Have we not a society, embracing a good third of the clergy, which occupies itself in nothing but arranging and rearranging its collection of fragments ?" <sup>2.</sup>

With one or two notable exceptions, little was done as yet, to restore the Eucharist to its place in the weekly Sunday worship. A monthly celebration was all that was achieved, and this only at Govan. The mass of the people had no desire for a weekly celebration. Many/

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1. The Church Service Society.

2. H, J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., pp. 37 - 38.

/Many would have resisted it strenuously. The passing away of the Fast Day in so many parishes, and the diminishing of the ancillary services at the Communion Season divested ~~the~~ Lord's Supper of something of its importance in the spiritual life of the congregation. The popular emphasis was still on worthy reception of Holy Communion. Infrequent Communion was preferred. The spiritual refreshment offered by the old-fashioned Communion Season was compensated for, to a small extent, by the observance of Holy Week, and by special parochial missions.

The opening prayer at Divine Service was still sometimes of twenty minutes' duration. Almost everywhere, strong preference was expressed for extemporary prayer, and for a simple, not too formal type of worship, in which the people took little part, except in praise. There grew up, amid all the lack of uniformity, which for a time at least, the changes let loose upon the Church, one or two congregations where a more formal, liturgical service established itself with acceptance. In time, these congregations were to exert an influence upon others, but the popular criterion remained simplicity and purity of worship, not the practice of the Scots Reformers, nor that of the Primitive Church.

Unfortunately, there was a tendency to under-estimate the part played in determining the form of Scottish Church worship by the Church's experience in the period 1638 - 1843. Out of her own, sometimes bitter experience, the Church had evolved the type of worship which was now designated a Puritan corruption of Scottish/



/Scottish Reformed Church worship.

There can be no doubt that the development of worship within the Kirk did not proceed naturally. It was perverted by political and alien influences. Yet, perhaps, those, who now sought to turn the Church's worship into more Catholic paths, failed to recognise that the germ of its development was in the Church's worship from the beginning. When KNOX'S LITURGY was authorised for public worship, the Church decided to follow the French pattern of Reformed worship, instead of that of the English BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. Like other Calvinist Churches, she developed a preaching service, with infrequent celebrations of the Lord's Supper. Her worship, true to type, was puritanical. Everything must have the sanction of Holy Scripture, before it could be afforded a place in the Divine Service. Of every ceremony, the Church must ask Why ?, not Why not ? Instruction and understanding in the Faith predominated, with a strong emphasis on morals and conduct. As in Calvinist worship elsewhere, the great test was "genuineness," and has continued to be so still. The Scottish bias was towards a somewhat rugged, earnest, doctrinal, intensely spiritual and intellectual type of worship, which scorned the smooth phrase and the beautiful ceremony, which might conceal theological dubiety or superstitious practice.

This is not to say, of course, that the bald and bleak worship of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century was a natural consequence, following from first principles, or that Reformed worship/

/worship in Scotland ever fulfilled Calvin's ideal.

The Scots, who so decidedly resisted the imposition of a service book in 1637, were hardly the nation to give up a service book which they prized and used regularly (as some would have us believe) without being convinced in their minds that such a course was right. They have continued to like their free form of worship so well that they have never given it up.

It is significant that the Church fought shy of enforcing the DIRECTORY, or of imposing a new one, at the time of the Greyfriars' case, that the Church refused to adopt, as her own official recommendations, the very reasonable recommendations of the Committee on the Proper Conduct of Public Worship and the celebration of the Sacraments in 1894. Even in 1940, one imagines, it was easier to put a new BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, which in some respects does not seem quite to represent the practice or the mind of the entire Church, through the General Assembly, than it would have been to enforce some obligatory uniformity and order upon all ministers in their conduct of public worship.

A period regarding which a certain dubiety prevailed as to existing use and wont, a time of great transition in Church life in Scotland, 1560-1645, a time when natural liturgical development was thwarted by external influences, was resuscitated as the "Golden Age" of Reformed Church worship in Scotland. It was, however, too/

/too limited a space of time to be the norm for moulding the Church's worship in the future. It was only part of the Church's heritage. The Church could not neglect the rest of her experience, which had so largely shaped her liturgical tradition. Moreover, the suspicion lurked in some minds that some at least of those who appealed to this period as a norm, were at heart yearning after another type of Church worship - that of Anglicanism - than that which by conviction and experience had been established by use and wont in Scotland.

If those who appealed to the worship of this period as a norm had possessed, like the Tractarians, an authoritative standard acceptable to all parties, like the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, to which they could have made appeal, they might have been able to restrict the development of the revival of worship within the narrow channel of a High Church interpretation of the Church's pronouncements on public worship.

Knox's book had long been dead. The DIRECTORY was almost as much honoured in the breach as in the observance. The Westminster CONFESSIO OF FAITH suggested that no one form of worship could ever be considered final.<sup>1</sup> The Church had never legislated as minutely for worship as for doctrine. Indeed, from the framing of the rubrics in KNOX'S LITURGY to the time when the Assembly declined to prohibit the use of the Individual Cup at Holy Communion the Church showed marked unwillingness to enforce anything savouring of rigid uniformity.

Critics of the innovations, like Veitch and Begg, maintained

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1. See Chapter XX.

that the Church would soon be shipwrecked on the rocks of Independency and that anarchy in worship would ensue. They were proved wrong, but these dangers were real for a time. It would have been for the good of the Church, if the Assembly had enforced a new Directory in 1864, or better still in 1894, in order to keep developments along lines compatible with the Church's inherited belief and practice, and to declare the Church's decision as to which theory of public worship she now accepted.

Various factors - mostly expediency - prevented this being done. It certainly avoided a further split in the Church of Scotland, but it left the way open for that phase in the Church's life, when the implication of her attitude was that "theology did not matter," when the emphasis seemed to be placed on Christian living, Church work, and congregational activities, and a freely-self-expressive approach to the conduct of public worship tended to result.

As a consequence, a type of service appeared in some places which was neither Scottish nor Presbyterian. Worshippers found that whereas the preaching of the Word had formerly been regarded as the most objective part of the service - as almost a prophetic function - the common prayers of the congregation were now regarded as the most objective part of the service, and preaching consisted of practical counsel, expository notes, or devotional comments made by the minister. Services could now be less clear cut in type. They sometimes contrasted unfavourably with the services which were common before innovations in worship appeared, or with the stricter

/Free Church type of worship, or the Anglo-Catholic Sung Eucharist, where the fundamental presuppositions underlying the service are so clear and so commonly accepted by the worshippers.

To remove the preaching of the Word, even slightly, from the centre of public worship, was a serious step. It meant the evolution of a service, which in type approximated to Anglican Matins, but which was further removed from the Liturgy of the Word - a type of service which went back to the earliest days of the Christian Church - and yet was deficient in that other great aspect of Christian worship - sacrifice, the "This do in remembrance of ME," the pleading of the Eternal Sacrifice.

The type of service which was evolved in the course of the revival of worship has not held the people in devotion to public worship. Other factors entered in, notably a weakened sense of the Divine authority of Holy Scripture. But possibly part of the falling away in Church attendance was due to the decentralisation of the Word in all its saving power and authority, with the corresponding failure to feel that public worship is a transaction, that in a Divinely appointed rite something is accomplished which is vital to spiritual life, and which cannot be accomplished in any other way.

Even, however, if this phase in the revival of worship in the Church of Scotland had achieved nothing, save to create within the Church a concern over the ordering of public worship, and for dignity and reverence in church architecture and furnishing, it would have/

/have put the Church lastingly in its debt. The movement began at a time when men were almost incredibly careless, ill-instructed, and inactive in these matters. By 1900 that was changed. Men might differ in their views regarding the form of public worship and about Church decoration, but practically all gave earnest consideration to them. These things now mattered.

The movement won the right for those who wished to exercise it, to draw up orders of service on liturgical lines, and in keeping with the practice and doctrine of the Church of Scotland, and to use these, reading prayers and inviting the congregation to join in responses, within the existing framework of the Church's worship, none hindering them. It also won permission for the use of instrumental music and stained glass, and for the general furnishing and decorating of churches in a manner, which, not many years earlier, would have been condemned out of hand as "Popery" or as "Episcopacy."

Moreover, the movement kept the people loyal to the Church in a difficult time in Scottish religious history. It brought the Gospel to the people in a more human, practical manner. It helped to bridge the gulf between public worship and daily life. In a time of doubt, division and confusion, it brought light and joy and strength to harassed souls. Amid the great changes - social, educational, economic - of the time, the public worship of the Church, as it was conducted between 1800 and 1850, could never/

/never have held the people's loyalty. Religion in Scotland had been associated for too long with emotional repression, with aesthetic hunger, with cold, harsh, intellectual dogma. Men welcomed, as that which met a long-felt want, a more human, more seemly, less didactic, more emotional type of worship. Its very brevity was a godsend. Its music, its variety, and its embellishments were a delight. Ideals of Christian service and discipleship were presented more appealingly through its medium.

Men still sought to glorify God above all things when they assembled for public worship, but they saw how unreasonable it was to imagine that this was best done by debasing human effort as much as possible. God, they recognised, was known savingly through the Incarnation. God had acted in Christ. Christ had spoken through some very humble and homely incidents. Therefore earthly beauty, human passions, and this-worldly ideals had a proper place in the sanctuary. "The Incarnation," said Cooper, "is as essential as the Trinity. It fundamentally affects the whole theory and method of our services."<sup>1</sup>

A form of worship which appealed almost wholly to the ear, and hardly at all to the eye, must sooner or later break down. Symbolism and ceremony do not belong to the infancy of the Church, as Calvin imagined. Man cannot despise them, if his spirit is to hold communion with His Maker.

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1. TRANSACTIONS OF THE ABERDEEN ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY, 1895, p. 15.

The way was at least prepared for a public worship which would obliterate a false distinction between the secular and the sacred, between the human and the Divine. The way was opened up for a public worship which could minister to the whole man, through which, because it was closely related to the concrete situations of daily life, men could meet God through Christ, know His saving grace, and worshipping Him, find their personalities and life integrated in His service.



SECTION 9THE QUEST FOR A SURE FOUNDATION FOR RESTORED WORSHIP IN  
ORTHODOXY AND CATHOLICITY

The formation of the Scottish Church Society in 1892 marks the beginning of a new phase in the revival of church worship in the Church of Scotland. The general aim of the Society was to defend and advance Catholic doctrine as set forth in the Ancient Creeds and embodied in the Standards of the Church of Scotland, and generally to assert Scriptural<sup>a</sup> principles in all matters relating to Church Order and Policy, Christian work and Spiritual life throughout Scotland.

By some, the Scottish Church Society was hailed as Scotland's Tractarian Movement.<sup>1.</sup> Cosmo Gordon Lang, then Vicar of St. Mary's, Oxford, wrote in 1895<sup>2.</sup> :

"The weakness in current Presbyterian religion, of the idea and forms of worship which Dr. Lee and the many good men who have followed in his steps so earnestly, and with so much success, sought to remedy, has created a longing for a fuller share in Catholic liturgies and observances. The spread of liberalism in religion - the tendency to reduce it to a mere department of morals - has made many fall back with greater earnestness/

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1. John Wordsworth: THE EPISCOPATE OF CHARLES WORDSWORTH, p. 278; "Church Times" - 4th and 11th November, 1892.  
2. C. G. Lang, THE FUTURE OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND, pp. 9 - 11.

/earnestness upon the historic theology of the Catholic Creeds. In their own teaching and practice, they have rescued the more Catholic elements in the WESTMINSTER CONFESSION - notably, its high sacramental doctrine - from the general neglect into which they had fallen... I do not wish to exaggerate the importance of what may be conveniently termed the Catholic Movement within the Established Church. Probably it leaves the majority of the clergy and the vast bulk of the members untouched; by some, it is regarded with dislike and suspicion. The lump has yet to be leavened - the process may be long, the resistance great. But such a fact as the existence and influence of the Scottish Church Society shows that a Movement, sincere, earnest, prayerful there undoubtedly is... We are certainly dealing with something far wider than the eccentricities of a little party of Scottish ministers. The analogy is obviously imperfect, but it may be doubted whether the Oxford Tractarians afforded even as much evidence of representing a real tendency within the Church of England, but yet we, looking back, see that they inaugurated a transformation of that Church. The Scottish Church Society/

/Society is, I am convinced, only the boldly organised expression of a very prevalent sentiment,"

By others, the Church Society was received with distrust and antagonism. Wild accusations of Romanising, ritualism, sacerdotalism were hurled at its head. The publication of the aims of the Society raised a storm in the "Glasgow Herald," which condemned the movement as "sacerdotal snobbishness," and asserted: "It will be observed that the objects of the Society reach far beyond the mere aesthetic: that there is a marked absence of the words Protestants or Presbyterian or Minister; that the basis of the whole movement is Catholic and sacramental, and that there is scarcely an item in the programme that might not be adopted for example by the English Church Union, upon which the Scottish Church Society is apparently modelled."<sup>1</sup> The movement was criticised as providing a stumbling-block to Church re-union in Scotland<sup>2</sup> and as frightening off likely candidates for the Holy Ministry by its narrow orthodoxy.<sup>3</sup> The Free Church paper "The Modern Church,"<sup>4</sup> divined ecclesiastical statesmanship behind the whole movement: "There are long-headed men among the promoters, who doubtless are acting on a policy. Perhaps they are anticipating Disestablishment, and seeking to educate the public into sympathy with Scotch Episcopacy, so that when the State connection is dissolved, they may carry a large/

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1. "Glasgow Herald," Nov. 1892.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, pp. 12-13;  
S. C. S. Report, 1894-5, p. 21.
  3. S. C. S. Report, 1899-1900, p. 17.
  4. "The Modern Church," Nov. 17th 1892.

/large section of the Church into an ecclesiastical union with that communion... it is a risky policy. It may turn out that the most formidable foe of the Church of Scotland is this new league within her own household." Not a few were suspicious of the Anglican leanings of some of the leaders of the new movement. 1.

"Undoubtedly, some of the present leaders of what may be called Catholic Presbyterianism look upon Presbyterian Orders as an unfortunate accident of their position, and would be ready to revive at least titular episcopate tomorrow, if they could do so without forfeiture of their position in the eyes of the State or their authority over their own flocks, and these look longingly to the Church of England." 2.

Overtures were even introduced at Glasgow and Aberdeen calling for the suppression of the Society, but were afterwards withdrawn. "It remained to 'read between the lines' (that is, to give rein to imagination, benignant or otherwise); and that phrase became the accepted cliché of criticism." 3.

The publication of the aims of the Scottish Church Society marked the beginning of a fresh stage of development in the revival of Church Worship in Scotland. It was no sudden development. It had long been maturing. The notable ministries of Cooper at Aberdeen/

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1. T. Leishman, Opening Address, Scottish Church Society Conference, Glasgow, 1893.
  2. "Church Times," 4th Nov. 1892.
  3. H. J. Wotherspoon, JAMES COOPER: A MEMOIR, pp. 165-6. S. C. S. Report, 1892-3, p. 20.

/Aberdeen and of Macleod at Govan, had given very concrete expression of what Reformed Catholicism could mean in a Scottish parish, foreshadowing much of what the new movement was to urge upon the Church.

Some of the theology of the movement had already found expression (e.g., in the writings of Professor William Milligan, and in the sermons on the Eucharist preached by John Macleod at Govan, 1888-9.<sup>1</sup> In the 1879 General Assembly, Cooper had moved that the Committee on Union with Other Churches should open communications with the Scottish Episcopal Church. Within the membership of the Church Service Society, there had long been those who realised that worship and doctrine must go hand in hand, and that worship must not be aestheticism, but faithfully express Catholic doctrine and sacramental grace. This was certainly true of John Macleod, G. W. Sprott, Thomas Leishman and James Cooper. Leishman's son tells us that in his father's eyes "all through his life, the Catholic Faith was the principal thing, while ritual, however useful as a handmaid, was, unless allied with sound doctrine, a comparatively secondary matter, a polishing of the outside of the cup and platter. Clearly it was on this account that at the outset he fought shy of the Church Service Society. For the same reason he had little sympathy with Dr. Robert Lee and his friends, whose ritual conceptions rested, he thought, more on an aesthetic, than a credal basis."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Later published as "THE GOSPEL OF THE HOLY COMMUNION."  
 2. J. F. Leishman, "LINTON LEAVES," p. 135.

The new Society was founded by the right wing of the older one, the founders all being active members of the Church Service Society. The formation of the new Society, different in aim and scope as it was, was partly due to long-existing differences of outlook among the leaders of the Church Service Society,<sup>1.</sup> and was expedited by the anti-doctrinal protest within its ranks in 1888<sup>2.</sup>

The movement which expressed itself in the formation of the Scottish Church Society was greatly influenced by certain important factors which also indirectly influenced the revival of Church worship. We must now consider these factors briefly.

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1. J. F. Leishman, op. cit., p. 136.  
 2. John Kerr, op. cit., p. 95.

a. The Advance of Liberal Theology and Biblical Criticism,

Leishman compared Scottish theology in 1837 and 1897 in these terms:  
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"Let us notice next the change that has taken place in the doctrinal beliefs both of the clergy and of many of their people. In 1837 and for many years after, Evangelical orthodoxy, as expounded in Principal Hill's Lectures, was dominant in Scotland, and was reflected even in the secular literature of the time. The only theological controversy that attracted much attention was one concerning the extent of the atonement, and it was chiefly among the Dissenting Communions that this question was agitated. Since then, science and criticism have modified the belief of many in all churches. The CONFESSION OF FAITH appears to have gone out of circulation, as people write to the newspapers that they are unable to procure copies. There is a widespread tendency to reject the supernatural and to regard humanitarianism as the religion of the future. Sermons are preached in which there is nothing distinctively Christian, nothing that might not be addressed to a Unitarian congregation and many of the people seem content to have it so."

During those sixty years, the Church had had to face a formidable foe in the wide naturalism which much of the scientific study of the time/

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1. Opening Address, Scottish Church Society Conference, Aberdeen, 1897.

/time, and the theory of evolution in particular, fostered. Increasing numbers lost their belief in a living God, in moral responsibility, in prayer, in Providence, and in a future life. Among many who still clung to the Christian Faith, various factors contributed to their rejection of much of Catholic orthodoxy. The study of comparative religion, the teachings of the modern German theologians, and, most important of all, the advanced critical views held by many Biblical scholars, raised doubts in the minds of many Church people. The Church had to deal with one typical case of weakened and emaciated Christian belief in the condemnation of Robinson of Kilmun, for heresy.<sup>1.</sup>

In his closing address as Moderator, in 1882, Milligan had asserted that it was not the Establishment that was at stake, but the Church of Christ. He referred to the tendency of the cultured classes "to sink into a state of hopeless uncertainty with regard to the claims of Christianity as a positive Divine revelation and of the Church as an actually Divine institution in the world."

While there were not lacking those who claimed that since the Abolition of Patronage, the ethos of the clergy had altered, and the tone of life in the Established Church was assimilating increasingly to that of Dissent,<sup>2.</sup> it is, however, <sup>true</sup>~~time~~ that liberal theology and advanced critical views were not so pronounced in the Church as among/

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1. See: A. Robinson, THE SAVIOUR IN THE NEWER LIGHT, 1895, vol. II.  
 2. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 160;  
 J. F. Leishman, MATTHEW LEISHMAN OF GOVAN, p. 212.



/among the Dissenters. In the Church of Scotland <sup>1</sup>. "a latitudinarian tendency, represented by Caird, Cunningham, Tulloch, Story and others, which was prominent, if not dominant, about 1880, received at once an advertisement and a check by the publication that year of a much-criticised volume entitled SCOTCH SERMONS... The volume was soon forgotten, but it had a good deal to do with an orthodox reaction which followed, which made the Church less willing for a while to venture on the path of credal relaxation."

The theological teaching of Professor Flint also contributed to the stability of outlook of the Church, which has been described as being in the post-Disruption period "moderately evangelical, <sup>2</sup>. moderately zealous, moderately active."

W. E. Gladstone once said to William Milligan that he "was much interested in improved worship in the Church of Scotland, but that the great duty which we had first of all to look to was the reviving of the faith. He remembered a time when the ordinary worship in the Church of England was worse than it was in Scotland." <sup>3</sup>.

The first leaders of the Scottish Church Society were all men who were deeply interested in the improvement of public worship, and who already had made an important contribution to the revival of worship, but they were also convinced that dangers underlay the popular enthusiasm for hymn singing, the taste for massed organ pipes with/

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1. J. R. Fleming: A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND, 1875 - 1929, vol. II, p. 17 - 18.

2. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 110.

3. Scottish Church Society Report, 1897-8, p. 25.

/with a "bracket" pulpit in a building which did not primarily suggest worship, the topical sermons which could completely ignore the Ascension or Pentecost, and the intense activity which had come to be known as "church work," with its progeny of bazaars, tableaux, concerts and meetings. They viewed with suspicion accommodating advances to the Free Church. They felt that the "National Religion" of a Tulloch or a Story was no adequate basis for Church Defence in the strife of Disestablishment, and they looked earnestly towards the possibility of union between the Churches of Scotland and England. They believed that the worship of the Church, indeed the whole life of the Church, could be kept pure and strong only by a re-assertion of the fundamentals of the Catholic Faith, and of the Divine nature of the Church.

These opinions found forcible expression in the publication of the constitution of the Scottish Church Society. Wallace Williamson speaking later could say: "Our central aim is to defend and advance Catholic doctrine as set forth in the ancient creeds and embodied in the Standards of the Church of Scotland, and to that purpose we have steadily adhered, because we believe that all real progress in every other department of Church life depends on loyal acceptance of the Church Faith. We have had bitter experience in Scotland of the danger of a mutilated Gospel. We have seen it in the name of spirituality, trampling in the dust the decencies of Christian Worship. We have seen it gradually destroying in the minds/

/minds of Christian people all real conception of the Church of God."<sup>1.</sup>

The new movement was convinced, as many were not, of the relevance of doctrine to the Church's present problems. "Are the doctrines of the Divinity, the Incarnation, the Atoning Death, the Resurrection, the Ascension, and the second Advent of Him whom we call the Redeemer of the world, of the presence and work of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and the place of the Divine ordinances sufficiently prominent in our minds ?... Not by enemies, but by friends, expression is often given to the feeling that the Church is wrong in regarding such truths as perplexities, and trials with which she has to contend; that her power has rather lain in human kindness, sympathy with the afflicted, defence of the weak against the strong: and that the practical life of human goodness, which has always gone side by side with her preaching, has been the real secret of her progress.<sup>2.</sup> Notions of this kind are widely spread." Many believed action to be more important than dogma.

The movement believed the Church's defence against her foes within and without was, like the Tractarians, to fall back upon her fundamental, historical beliefs.<sup>3.</sup> The Church-life of the sub-apostolic age was to be a pattern, and the three ancient creeds the embodiment of the essentials of belief. The old Confessional Statements/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1902-3, pp. 14 - 15.  
 2. W. Milligan: THE SCOTTISH CHURCH SOCIETY: SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS AIMS, pp. 6 - 7. 3. S. C. S. Report, 1895-4, pp. 12 - 13.

/Statements which the Church had formerly accepted were to be authoritative, and any relaxation of the formula of subscription for ministers was not to be countenanced, if it did not embody acceptance of the Nicene creed in full. It was argued that "what should render one more anxious at this time for the adoption of a precise Formula is the absence of appointed Liturgical forms in the Church of Scotland, for it should be remembered that a Church without a prescribed Liturgy is more is more dependent on a definite Creed than one in which specified forms of worship are in use." <sup>1.</sup>

The history of Presbyterianism in England was held to prove the vital necessity of the Church's explicitly confessing the doctrine of the Ancient Creeds.

Leishman complained that "the young Presbyterian is to settle down in his parish to think out a credo for himself, and have the neighbouring peasantry together for eighty minutes on Sunday forenoon To hear how the process goes on." <sup>2.</sup> Any credal reform was deprecated which left more scope for expressing what one did not believe than for a positive statement of belief. <sup>3.</sup> Dr. Leishman lamented regarding the Apostles' Creed that "No article of it seems to be free from challenge in some quarter, unless it be that which declares that Jesus Christ was crucified, dead and buried." <sup>4.</sup> The liberal views of Dissenters were held up for warning and condemnation./

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1906-7, p. 15.

2. S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, p. 14.

3. S. C. S. Report, 1903-4, p. 18. 4. S.C.S. Report, 1898-9, p. 27.

/condemnation. "It is remarkable," said Sprott, "that the Evangelical Dissenters are leading the way in educating the people out of the traditional views which were held till recently by about almost all Christians as to the inerrancy of Holy Scripture. I heard Dean Stanley say many years ago, 'There is a great deal in a name, and I venture to predict that the Free Church will yet justify its title' : and he has proved a true prophet." <sup>1.</sup> He also condemned Professor Lindsay's views on the origin of the Christian Ministry as "pure Congregationalism." <sup>2.</sup> Dr. John Macleod condemned Professor A. B. Bruce's "Christian Primer," because it contained no "reference to the Resurrection, Ascension, the sending forth of the Holy Ghost - or, in short, to anything after our Lord's death, except in a single sentence where we are told that He has gone into Heaven," and asserted "I believe this Society is at one in being determined that, so far as our influence may extend, we will help towards keeping the line of toleration fixed at this point, that we shall not tolerate the substitution of the idea that Jesus merely revealed God, being literally only the Son of Joseph and Mary, for the distinctive affirmation of the Christian religion that that Jesus was God and is God: and that He was preternaturally conceived, and was born of the blessed Virgin Mary: and that He/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1900-01, pp. 25 - 27.

2. S. C. S. Report, 1902-3, p. 32.

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/He died for our sins," and that "He rose again the third day according to the Scriptures."<sup>1.</sup> Cooper, likewise, condemned Bruce's work because it contained no statement of the Virgin Birth, the Divinity of Christ, or the Last Judgement, although claiming to be an "historical Catechism of the main facts concerning Jesus." He complained that the Free Church Assembly took no notice of the book, and the United Presbyterian Synod<sup>2.</sup> saw in it no bar to union negotiations.

The Society repudiated the charge of instigating proceedings in the Kilmun heresy case, asserting it was not their province to meddle in the affairs of the Courts of the Church,<sup>3.</sup> although Dr. John Macleod was instrumental in the severe sentence being pronounced.<sup>4.</sup> Many in Scotland who could not see their way to join the Society, or did not sympathise with all its aims, appreciated the doctrinal stand it took up.<sup>5.</sup> Notably, Professor Flint, who, though never a member, lent sympathy and support, and is credited with saying that since its formation, he was<sup>6.</sup> able to look forward with a better heart to the Church's future. Warm appreciation came from over the Border and from across the Atlantic.<sup>7.</sup>

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1896-7, pp. 14 - 15.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1896-7, pp. 21 - 22.
  3. S. C. S. Report, 1896-7, p. 13.
  4. J. R. Fleming, op. cit., vol. II, p. 23.
  5. S. C. S. Report, 1903-4;  
S. C. S. Report, 1900-01.
  6. J. F. Leishman, LINTON LEAVES, p. 141.
  7. S. C. S. Report, 1903-4, p. 20.

/Atlantic, as the Society's publications came out. This preaching of what has been termed "fundamentalism with a difference"<sup>1.</sup> did not lack critics within and without the Church. Story condemned the leaders as "mediaevalists and sacramentarians."<sup>2.</sup> Dr. Dods attacked John Macleod's treatise on Baptism,<sup>3.</sup> and a certain "Dr. Theophilus" was an unwearied critic of the Society's publications.<sup>4.</sup>

In 1896 the National Church Union was formed "with the avowed object of counteracting our endeavours," alleged Sprott, "at least the founders of the 'National Church Union' state that 'the action of the High Church party has caused not a few ministers to feel that the liberty of teaching hitherto enjoyed in the Church of Scotland, is seriously imperilled, and has suggested the need of a union being formed to defend that liberty.'"<sup>5.</sup>

In 1904, Dr. Cooper admitted that the stand taken by the Society had not been without its cost. "Twelve years ago, we banded ourselves together for the Faith. We were not listened to. We were called evil names, or names meant to be ill-sounding. To not a few among us, the stand we have been making - for the principles of the Church, for the truths of our own standards - has brought positive disabilities of many kinds, and no small hardship. We do not complain. We shall not draw back."<sup>6.</sup>

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1. J. R. Fleming, op. cit., vol. II, p. 235.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1899-1900, p. 17.
  3. S. C. S. Reports.
  4. S. C. S. Report, 1896-7, p. 30.
  5. Ibid.
  6. S. C. S. Report, 1903-4, p. 19.

b. Reaction to the Moody and Sankey Revival.

The religious revival which followed the visits of the American Evangelists Moody and Sankey, made a genuine and long-enduring impression upon the Church life of Scotland. The revival appealed to the heart, rather than the intellect, but it engendered a truly Christian devotion; it also promoted an actively expressed social concern. No doubt it also contributed to the zeal with which the Church of Scotland took up Home Mission work after 1880, and to the social developments associated with Dr. Charteris.

While appreciating the spiritual quickening which was taking place, none of the leaders of the Scottish Church Society were actively associated with these campaigns. Marshall Lang who was, wrote disapproving of the formation of the Society.<sup>1</sup> A. K. H. Boyd, G. W. Sprott, Thomas Leishman, who were all, as Glasgow students, under the influence of Matthew Leishman of Govan, probably shared to some extent the latter's views as expressed through the pen of one of his assistants: "Although associating with the rest of the community in prayer meetings, we keep aloof from the Moody and Sankey movement, and a great many will wish before long that they had done the same. Our clergy are compromising themselves by the pre-eminence/

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1. Minute of S. C. S. meeting, 24. 5. 1892.



/pre-eminence they assign to the proceedings of these unordained and unaccredited men who have no connection with any religious body. Doubtless they are free to do good like other Christians, but why make all the religious zeal and life of Scotland hinge upon them ?" <sup>1.</sup> Thomas Leishman is described as a Moderate, who <sup>2.</sup> through the furnace of affliction became a Moderate Evangelical. and G. W. Sprott with his stress on the necessity of valid Ordination could hardly have given full support to the ministrations of laymen. <sup>3.</sup> Cooper apparently tried hard to be in full sympathy with Moody and Sankey, but had to admit he did not like "the kind of thing." He believed their error to be "the presentation of a faith that does not include repentance - a powerless, dead faith." <sup>4.</sup> He feared a tendency to Plymouthism among the laity. He believed that, in the popular cry for evangelistic meetings, the Church was paying the price of her rejection of the Christian Year. <sup>5.</sup> Wotherspoon, who lived through Moody's visits, and who lived long enough to take a detached view of the revival, perhaps expressed the deepest criticism - one which may have been shared by other High Church men, if not expressed. He wrote of the revival: "At the same time/

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1. J. F. Leishman, MATTHEW LEISHMAN, p. 213.
  2. J. F. Leishman, LINTON LEAVES, p. 159.
  3. See G. W. Sprott, THE NECESSITY OF A VALID ORDINATION TO THE HOLY MINISTRY.
  4. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 100.
  5. Ibid, p. 101.

/time there was anxiety because of a certain novelty - some might prefer to say, a freshness - in their presentation of the perennial Gospel. There seemed to some that in their statement salvation was too freely identified with saving faith. Our confessional theology does not admit of that identification. No doubt the question, as it was suggested by the work of Moody and Sankey, was largely one of emphasis, scarcely one of orthodoxy in even the narrower sense, and doubtless we should thank God to have such men and such work among us today; and we do not see them. Nevertheless, I have often thought, though not with certainty, that reactions against these features of Moody's presentation of the Gospel had to do with the break up of that solid evangelicalism which so far, based in its Standards, had been the characteristic and prevalent doctrine of the Scottish Church." <sup>1.</sup> But it may be wondered if Dr. Wotherspoon himself did not tend to the other extreme (to judge by his Manual of Private Devotions), stressing <sup>2.</sup> sin and penitence almost to the point of the morbid.

Undoubtedly, the movement which lay behind the Scottish Church Society sought to safeguard the Church, its Ministry and Sacraments, against "the self-will and presumption of those who claim a spirituality superior to all definite observances." <sup>3.</sup> It taught men that true Christian/

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1. Ibid, p. 99.

2. KYRIE ELEISON;

See also FAREWELL SERMON AT ST. OSWALD'S.

3. R. S. Kirkpatrick in THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, p. 53.

/Christian devotion must necessarily be a Churchly devotion, and it repudiated the plea commonly heard among Dissenters, that the Gospel called men to Christ, not to the Church.<sup>1.</sup> It implied that the Holy Spirit is not normally operative except through the ordinances of the Church.<sup>2.</sup> It deprecated the spirit manifesting itself in some ~~E~~vangeli~~c~~al circles, which stressed loyalty to a type of spiritual experience, or to a phraseology, rather than to a Church and a formulated creed.<sup>3.</sup> It objected to the argument that all true Christians "were travelling the same road," so it did not matter which Church they attended,<sup>4.</sup> if they were really "Christians." It believed that the American organ, the hymns, the popular gifts of the Evangelists, however greatly used of God, must not obscure the fact that the power to worship is not man-created, but God-given, a supernatural gift.

"The mass of people do not all desire a service which is worship. They have but sufficient grace to exhibit a desire for instruction, information about religious things, which shades down into a wish for so-called "interesting sermons," or "intellectual treats," and reaches its lowest point in the success of the semi-circular lecture, and the sensationalism of the Charlatan. A service/

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1. W. Milligan, THE SCOTTISH CHURCH SOCIETY: SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS AIMS, p. 9.  
S. C. S. Report, 1897-8.
  2. R. S. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 54;  
Lord Sands, op. cit., p. 154.
  3. H. J. Wotherspoon, EVANGELISTIC WORK AND ITS PROPER BASIS, p. 183.
  4. S. C. S. : ITS WORK AND ITS CLAIMS, p. 7.

/service that is worship chiefly, or worship only, is, on this account, unpopular in the ordinary sense of the term, simply because of the comparative rarity of the power to join in any sustained act of adoration or supplication or thanksgiving."<sup>1.</sup>

Above all, the movement, like Edward Irving, laid every stress on the teaching of the SCOTS CONFESSION: "We utterly condemn the vanity of those who affirm Sacraments to be nothing but naked and bare signs." It stressed the centrality of the Eucharist in the Church's worship. It emphasised the supreme<sup>2.</sup> duty of cultivating the grace received in Holy Baptism.

Regarding some of the successors and crude imitators of the American evangelists, the movement spoke out in condemnation,<sup>3.</sup> analysing the defects and dangers of such revivalist tactics. The main criticism of such evangelism was its "individualism," defective theology, and the "externality of its relation to the Church."

The Scottish Church Society was to give practical demonstration of what it believed to be evangelism on Churchly lines, indicating that all who hold by the Church's Standards and Catechisms must be truly evangelical in spirit. It was to assert in a very practical/

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1. R. S. Kirkpatrick in THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, pp. 62 - 63.
  2. See especially THE DIVINE LIFE IN THE CHURCH, vol. I.
  3. See H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit.,; also J. Cromarty Smith, EVANGELISTIC WORK AND ITS PROPER BASIS.

/practical way that the worship of the Church is Catholic and Evangelical. But with regard to revival generally, the following quotation may be taken as indicating its standpoint:

"The Church alone can do evangelistic work, for she alone possesses the powere of convey~~ing~~ from Christ to His people, those means by which the Spiritual life can be nourished and maintained. Christ communicates to us the benefits of redemption, as our own branch of the Church truly teaches, by His Word, Sacraments and Prayer, all which are made effectual to the elect for salvation."<sup>1.</sup>

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1. J. Cromarty Smith, op. cit., p. 190.

c. The Disestablishment Campaign.

The long, bitter Disestablishment Campaign reached a crisis in 1892 when practically two-thirds of the Scottish Members of Parliament were pledged to vote for Disestablishment. The issue was seen as vital. All zealous Church people had decided views for or against Establishment.

Under persistent attack, the Church of Scotland was thrown back upon the fundamental principles of her position, with the result that fresh emphasis was laid on the Divine Nature of the Church, and re-assertions were made regarding the nature of her worship.

"Strengthen the things that remain"<sup>1.</sup> was a motto of the Scottish Church Society, the immediate cause of whose being<sup>2.</sup> founded was the Disestablishment crisis. This new society claimed that it was no schismatic body, but stood for the orthodox, Catholic<sup>3.</sup> teaching of the Church, which was in danger of being abandoned.

"There are," said Dr. Leishman in 1894, "indeed those who warn us that this is not the time, when the Church is being so fiercely attacked, to re-assert neglected doctrines and her Divine Commission. Rather, they say, try to conciliate Non-conformists by/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, p. 13.  
 2. S. C. S. Report, 1906-7, p. 19.  
 3. J. Charleston, letter to "The Modern Church," 27. 10. 1892;  
 J. Parker, letter to "Glasgow Herald," 27. 10. 1892.

/by making as little as possible of everything that separates us. But for twenty years, at least these tactics have had free play. In not a few particulars, the Church has been re-moulded after their model, and its advantages placed within their reach. And there our opponents stand, implacable as ever, watching with grim amusement our endeavours to mollify them, and protesting against successive Disestablishment Bills only because they are not merciless enough. And among our own people, the effects of this policy have not been more fruitful. They have never heard their Church described as a Divine institute set here to be a centre of Christian brotherhood, a pillar and ground of the truth among the Scottish people. They have been left, if not led to believe, that there is no evil in schism. In their thoughts the Church is but one of a cluster of denominations, distinguished from others ~~mainly~~ <sup>namely</sup> by the way in which an official income is found for such of its office-bearers as are stipendiaries." <sup>1.</sup>

On another occasion he could assert, at least half seriously, of the Scottish Church Society: "We are the only Presbyterians left." <sup>2.</sup> The society condemned the "buffoonery" and "Antinomianism" of the "so-called Evangelistic movement," <sup>3.</sup> refusing to believe that Disestablishment would hasten Presbyterian union in Scotland, and <sup>4,</sup> citing America as an example,

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, p. 12.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1905-6, p. 18.
  3. John Parker, "Glasgow Herald," 27. 10. 1892.
  4. S. C. S. Report, 1894-5, p. 15.

/example, holding that there were those whose sympathies were with Episcopacy, but who remained Presbyterian only because the Established Church was Presbyterian,<sup>1.</sup> dreading lest the identity of the Church in Scotland should be lost in a confederacy of denationalised Presbyterian sects,<sup>2.</sup> they resolved to stand for "Evangelical Truth and Catholic Order."<sup>3.</sup> "We believe in the Church of Scotland, not the Reformed Church of Scotland, not the Presbyterian Church of Scotland... We are not sectaries,"<sup>4.</sup> asserted Cooper to an Anglican audience.

Eloquence of preaching, beauty of form in worship, religious fervour among the people could never, it was felt, suffice where the true notes of the Church were wanting.<sup>5.</sup> Independent views of the Ministry and congregationalism were held to be destroying in some quarters, true Presbyterianism.<sup>6.</sup> The dissentient churches were described as "commercial" rather than "voluntary," in so far as they administer ordinances, not freely to all, or principally to those who pay a stipulated price.<sup>7.</sup> A Divine principle was seen in the duty of the state to acknowledge and promote the Church of God.<sup>8.</sup> Cooper's inaugural lecture as Professor of Church History at Glasgow was accepted as a manifesto of the Society's aims.<sup>9.</sup>

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1894-5, pp. 19 - 20.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1900-01, p. 19.
  3. S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, p. 21.
  4. J. Cooper: THE REVIVAL OF CHURCH PRINCIPLES IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 1.
  5. J. Macleod, in debate on "The Religious Condition of the People," General Assembly, 1897;  
Dr. Sprott, S. C. S. Report, 1900-01, p. 27.
  6. G. W. Sprott, THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, pp. 212 - 213.
  7. J. Macleod, A NATIONAL RECOGNITION OF RELIGION, p. 5;  
R. S. Kirkpatrick, NATIONAL RELIGION: ITS PRINCIPLES AND POSSIBLE EMBODIMENTS, pp. 1 - 2.; S.C.S. Report, 1906-7, p. 19.
  8. J. Macleod, op. cit., p. 1.
  9. J. Cooper, THE CHURCH NATIONAL AND CATHOLIC;  
See S. C. S. Report, 1898-9, p. 22.



This defence of the Church of Scotland, which saw in her the faithful witness to, if not custodian of, Catholic and Apostolic Truth, was different from the "National Religion" of Story, Tulloch and others, which, as we have seen, was associated with the earlier liturgical revival in the Church. The argument that what was obligatory for the Church was that which had become truly Scottish by use and wont, was set at nought. The Scottish Confessional Standards were fastened<sup>1.</sup> on to the three ancient creeds. The "narrow divergence" between the two National Churches of England and Scotland was<sup>2.</sup> exaggerated. The Church was urged to defend those elements in her heritage which enabled her to claim a place in the<sup>3.</sup> Ecumenical Body of Catholic Christians.

Undoubtedly, the leaders of this new movement believed that Establishment was best for the spiritual welfare of Scotland. They also believed it to be an invaluable stepping-stone to union with Anglicanism which they, most of all Cooper, desired, and firmly believed to be an immediately practical proposition.

Their identification of Evangelical Truth and Catholic Order with Establishment was less happy. They believed, rightly or wrongly, that the doctrines of Church, Ministry and Sacrament, which/

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1. J. Cooper, ONE BAPTISM, A REPLY TO CERTAIN STRICTURES OF REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D., pp. 8 - 9;  
J. Cooper, Presidential Address, S.C.S. Annual Meeting, 1900.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1900-01, p. 29.
  3. See W. Milligan, THE SCOTTISH CHURCH SOCIETY: SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS AIMS.

/which they defended, were to be found in the Confessional Standards of the Church, as set up by the state. Establishment as then existing, gave strength to their doctrinal position. They did not fairly ask (despite all the agitation for relaxed subscription to the formulas) how far these Standards still expressed the faith of the Church. Nor did they frankly admit that Establishment could be viewed as a mere accident, that Orthodoxy and Catholicity were not its inalienable possession. The "Church Times"<sup>1.</sup> suggested that even the Westminster Assembly might err, as Councils had in earlier times, and while appreciating the Society's defence of "such parts of Catholic doctrine as are included in the Scottish Standards," advocated a complete return to antiquity. It expressed the hope that "true loyalty to the Church of Scotland"<sup>2.</sup> was not to be the "perpetuation of a policy which had to wait sixteen hundred years for its conception and birth, and then commanded national adhesion on political rather than religious grounds."

The joint defence of Establishment and Catholic principles was in safe hands as long as its defenders, like Cooper, Wotherspoon and others were Catholics at heart, well-grounded in the historical position of the Church, and self-effacing in their parochial labours. But it could be a great injury to the cause of Evangelical Truth and Catholic Order, when a formality in worship, which lacked a/

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1. "Church Times," 11. 11, 1892.

2. S. C. S. AIMS, No. 24.

/a truly Catholic faith and devotion, was conjoined with a Churchmanship too strongly tinged with Erastianism.

d. The Sin of Schism

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 "In our own day," wrote Sprott, "much has been done to rebuild the waste places and to repair the desolations of former generations. This 'second Reformation' has done more to revive sound doctrine and to strengthen the Church than any other single cause, and in the origin of the movement the late Dr. Robert Lee acted a conspicuous part. There was another note struck by him, which, if it had been responded to, would have saved the Church from the catastrophe of 1843. He was one of the few men who, during the non-intrusion controversy, raised a warning voice against the sin and peril of schism. It was the schism of the protestors that wrecked the Church in 1651, and their refusal to listen to any reasonable terms of union was the chief cause of the restoration of Episcopacy in 1660. History repeats itself. If the modern representatives of the protesters succeed in their efforts to disestablish the Church and to secularise the property, which our forefathers devoted to God and His service, they will inflict the most deadly wound on Scottish Presbytery that it has yet received. If, on the other hand, the Church escapes the present peril, and is permitted to follow out such lines as have been indicated by the Church Service Society, the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society and the Scottish Church Society, she may yet gather into/

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1. G. W. Sprott, THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND DURING THE COVENANTING PERIOD, p. 50.

/into her fold the best of those who have separated from her, and contribute many valuable elements to that wider re-union for which we all long and pray."

The sense of the "sin and peril" of schism weighed very heavily upon the members of the movement we are considering. Sprott frequently referred to the Disruption as a great misfortune, blaming it for many defections to Episcopacy, especially among Presbyterians in the colonies.<sup>1</sup> Leishman, who like Sprott, could remember the bitter years following the Disruption, was, through his father, the heir of the abhorrence of schism shown by the "Middle Party" at the Disruption.<sup>2</sup> Matthew Leishman himself owed his dread of schism to the inspiration of Durham's A DYING MAN'S TESTAMENT TO THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, a treatise on the Scandal of Schism,<sup>3</sup> and taught that "except in fundamental matters, touching the essentials of Christianity, separation is unwarrantable." The question of Christian Unity was for Cooper a burning question all his life, underlying his interest in Church Worship and Order.<sup>4</sup> "Our contention is," he said, "that the Disruption was wrong."

In the face of the current comparative unconcern regarding the "sin" of schism among Scottish Presbyterians, proof was sought in the writings of earlier Scottish Divines, and in the teachings of the/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1895-6;  
Dr. Sprott, Opening Address, S.C.S. Conference, Aberdeen, 1897.
  2. J. F. Leishman, MATTHEW LEISHMAN OF GOVAN, p. 103; pp. 138 - 139.
  3. Ibid, pp. 102 - 103.
  4. H. J. Wotherspoon, JAMES COOPER: A MEMOIR, p. 167.

/the Reformers themselves that schism was sin.

Commenting on the 1900 Church Union, Sprott said, "I venture to express the hope that our friends will look into the historic doctrine of the Church of Scotland on the subject of unity and schism. For nearly a hundred years after the Reformation, there was no division in Scotland. It was the time of the Black Acts of King James, of the First Episcopacy, of the Perth Articles, of the High Commission which took the whole government of the Church into its hands. Among eminent Presbyterians of that time I do not know one who thought these things sufficient to justify separation. They thought that so long as the foundations were not destroyed, it was their duty to protect against error and to purify the Church, but not to forsake it. I might refer also to many of the most devout Presbyterians in the Church of Scotland of later times, such as Boston, Willison and Hoy, as holding substantially the same ground." <sup>1.</sup> The Reformers, it was stressed, did not see themselves as creators of schism, but as Reformers of the Church from within. The Reformed Church was for them the *Ecclesia Scoticana*. "At one time the Church of Scotland to most Englishmen, especially of the extreme High Church party, was little more than 'a sect,' 'a schism,' 'a Samaria stripped naked,' with 'a self-formed Priesthood, and the Church cast forth to the chill mountain air'... To the average Englishman of today, the/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1898-9, p. 30.

/the Church of Scotland is like his own Church, a living branch of the Church of Christ, the Holy Catholic Church," said the President of the Society in 1899.<sup>1.</sup>

The ecclesiastical rivalry which set up altar against altar, and weakened the parish minister's oversight over all the souls in his parish,<sup>2.</sup> the re-duplication of churches where they were un-necessary, while thousands remained unchurched in city areas,<sup>3.</sup> were noted with sorrow.

There was, tpo, a sad recollection that the bitter, vehement feelings stirred up by the Disruption cohtroversy continued still in some measure to colour the ecclesiastica outlook, whenever principles were asserted either by Established or Free Churches. "This Society, I hope and believe, may be able to show in some measure, that unswerving devotion to principle, and unhesitating, and, if need be, unsparing condemnation of error are not incompatible with absolute fairness and charity towards all men."<sup>4.</sup>

The Disruption was blamed as having caused a grievous wound in the Church, at a time when her life was singularly vigorous and her prospects bright, causing serious losses among the gentry to Episcopacy, and among the middle classes to Dissent.<sup>5.</sup>

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1. E. M. Masson, Dull, S. C. S. Report 1898-9, p. 18.

2. S. C. S. Report, 1899-1900, p. 34.

3. S. C. S. Report, 1901-2, p. 15.

4. J. H. Miller, THE REVIVAL OF CHURCHMANSHIP IN SCOTLAND, P. 69.

5. S. C. S. Report, 1905-6, p. 13 - 14.;  
S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, p. 13.

At a time when the Reformed Churches were becoming increasingly ecumenically minded, those who sought to defend the Church of Scotland as the true Bride of Christ in Scotland, found themselves beset on the one hand by re-union on the level of pan-Presbyterianism, which they rejected,<sup>1.</sup> and on the other, by proposals for re-union emanating from Lambeth on the basis of the famous "quadrilateral," which insisted on the acceptance of the "Historic Episcopate." This led them, while denying the invalidity of Presbyterian Orders, and the Divine institution of the Episcopate as a separate Order, to hope for a negotiated union with Episcopacy.<sup>2.</sup> This attitude tended to accentuate the difference between other Presbyterians and themselves in stressing certain principles of Church worship.

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1901-2, p. 17.

2. S. C. S. Report, 1900-1, pp. 27 - 29.



e. The Realisation that Mere Aestheticism had inspired some of the Earlier Innovations.

As the revival of church worship developed, the plea had often been heard that the Church Services must be rendered more attractive, if the Church was to keep the people. The wisest leaders in the revival had already been aware that the form of public worship is in itself a confession of faith. Some of them felt that the time had now come when the revival of worship must examine itself, to see how far the forms of worship which were evolving were a true expression of the Church's doctrine.

Dr. Hamilton of Hamilton hoped that there would be no opposition to the Scottish Church Society, "Just because they were trying to make their services a little more attractive, therefore they all felt a little more the necessity along with that of reviving the great doctrinal truths with which the revival of worship is so intimately connected, and upon which it had its true foundation." <sup>1.</sup>

Milligan asked "Will tasteful arrangements, music, flowers, pictures, embroidery, and carved wood, everything included in what is ironically characterised as an "attractive service" long continue to be of avail ? Things like these may be good when they are a well-regulated expression of realities, when they are blossoming of a tree rooted in a divine soil, and drinking the rain of heaven that cometh oft upon it; but to imagine for an instant that they can/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1892-3, p. 17.

/can occupy the place of the most solemn revelations of what the Church believes to be the Gospel of God, is to show an ignorance of human wants equalled only by its insensibility to all experience." <sup>1.</sup>

While it was felt that the Church Service Society had done admirable work within the definite limits which it had set itself, <sup>2.</sup> and that EUCHOLOGION had done much to improve the Church Service, and to uphold the cause of orthodoxy, there was, according to Cooper, the feeling that that Society's work was over: "It appears to many of us now that this Society is not likely to do much more; and that it is paralysed by the spirit of compromise arising out of the composition of its managing body." <sup>3.</sup> "Every man in the Scottish Church Society is, I suppose, a member of the Church Service Society, but not vice versa; far from it, more the pity," <sup>4.</sup> lamented Dr. Leishman.

The promoters of the new Society realised that their efforts were not likely to be well-understood, let alone popular, because they were asserting truths which they believed to be forgotten, and which they knew would not commend themselves at first. The Church Service Society could boast a large clerical membership, some of whom were perhaps opposed to orthodox doctrine obtruding itself in/

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1. W. Milligan, THE SCOTTISH CHURCH SOCIETY: SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS ADMS, p. 11. See also W. Milligan, THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD, p. 312.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1901-2, p. 16.
  3. J. Cooper, THE REVIVAL OF CHURCH PRINCIPLES IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, p. 17.
  4. Letter from Dr. Leishman to Dr. Sprott, 22. 5. 1900.

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/in the ordering of agreeable services, some of whom were eager  
to borrow openly from Anglican forms of worship.<sup>2.</sup> Dr. John Macleod  
felt sure that the ranks of the new Society would be select.  
"The 'Primmers' will not favour us with their presence; and I  
think that we shall<sup>not</sup> be favoured on a large scale with the presence  
of the 'trimmers.'<sup>2.</sup>"

Dr. Leishman warned the younger brethren against the mistake  
of supposing that there is a necessary connection between gorgeous  
worship and well-defined doctrine. "The ritual may be most  
elaborate, musical, floricultural, sartorial in the extreme, and  
the teaching barely Christian. The service may be very simple,  
and the truth of God clearly and fully preached."<sup>3.</sup>

More particularly, in the published Conference Papers of the  
Scottish Church Society,<sup>4.</sup> regret was expressed over the spirit in  
which some of the "innovations" in worship had been made:

"The strategy of that campaign was not, perhaps, precisely  
what we now wish it had been. The appeal was made to considerations  
of good sense and good taste rather than to anything higher; and  
in order to win acceptance for changes in ritual, which to members  
of this Society have no value, or may even be distasteful, unless  
they are intimately bound up with doctrine and explicitly avowed  
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1. J. Kerr, op. cit., pp. 95 - 97.

2. S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, p. 23;

See also H. J. Wotherspoon, COMMUNION WITH GOD AND COMMUNION  
IN GOD, p. 28.

3. S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, p. 13.

4. THE DIVINE LIFE IN THE CHURCH, Vol. II, pp. 72 - 73.

/to be so, it was doubtless necessary that their significance should be less prominently brought forward than their consonance with a feeling for good music and for what is pleasant to the eye. A consideration of the arguments habitually employed by the anti-innovation party will surely banish any remnant of astonishment that such should have been the case... To go deeply into the matter naturally appeared to be superfluous. Yet we cannot shut our eyes to the unfortunate consequence of this accident: ritual has been sought to make the services of the sanctuary "attractive" and nothing more, as though a church were a theatre or a music-hall; and a considerable section of the public believes that a High Churchman is a man who is given up to anthems, who rarely uses the psalms, who ignores the paraphrases, and who wears the hood of his degree in the pulpit." That High Churchmanship was readily associated in the popular mind with outward details of worship rather than with preaching of Catholic doctrine, is brought out by the somewhat surprised comment on Mr. Charleson's secession to Rome: "There is little predisposition among the Scottish clergy to trudge Romeward, though some of them are accused of having an affection for high-tailoring, wax-candles, and other ecclesiastical filigree."<sup>1</sup>

Story, who took a leading part in the Church Service Society, but did not join the Scottish Church Society, agreed that changes in/

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1. "Glasgow Evening Times," 14. 10. 1901.

/in worship must be matters of principle, not merely of taste, and admitted that this was the true aim of the Scottish Church Society, which should not meet with flippancy, although the Society merited some criticism.<sup>1.</sup> In his closing address as Moderator, he dealt with the Church's ritual in the following terms:

"We have lost much that belonged to the decorous worship of our Reforming fathers. Some of our losses we have made good. That we have been able to do so we owe mainly to the noble work achieved by Dr. Robert Lee. For some of the bareness, and the bleakness of the services of the sanctuary, we have been able to substitute fairer forms and ampler offices of devotion and praise. But we have had sometimes to admit, that, in making this change, we have recognised a sentiment which loves mere beauty and order for their own sake, and too little of the spirit of reverent adoration, which seeks to give God its costliest and loveliest, because it is His due, and because even the stateliest and most solemn ritual through which we can draw near His throne must yet fail to express the fullness of our devotion, the depth of our humility, the vastness of our gratitude for the love which passes all understanding."

Long ere this, Cooper had commented on the "new and odd school that seems to be arising in our Church" - the "Ritualistic Broad-Churchman"<sup>2.</sup> /

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1. "Scotsman," 5. 6. 1894.

2. H. J. Wotherspoon, JAMES COOPER: A MEMOIR, p. 96.

/Churchman," and expressed the fear that "Broad-Churchism, infecting prayers and sermons both, would wither our Christianity." Cooper himself loved beauty, order and ceremony, but his first devotion was to what he believed to be the truth or institution of Christ.

John Macleod's well-known viewpoint was that all changes in 1. worship which did not make the Eucharist central were superficial. "It is," he said, "doubly deplorable, now that the old Fast Days have been abolished, and the old sacred days have been swept aside, that there is to be found scarcely one congregation in Scotland besides my own, in which the Lord's Supper is celebrated 2. more than four times a year."

"We would like," said Sprott, "to see at least two services in Church every Sunday, frequent week-day services, and above all, more frequent celebration of the Holy Communion. As good Adolf Saphir said - "Among zealous Presbyterians, 'self-invented services are multiplied, but Christ's own institution (of weekly Communion) never enters their minds as a means of revival.' And is it not for a lamentation that, through its rare administration in Church, in the face of the congregation, a generation is growing up in Scotland, many of whom have never witnessed a Baptism? There is much/

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1. Obituary Notice, "Scotsman," 5. 8. 1898;  
See also John Macleod, HOLY COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION, p. 21.
  2. Obituary Notice, "Scotsman," 5. 8. 1898.

/much to be learned on the subject of worship from the later Apostolic Age, as, for example, from the observance of the Christian week and the Christian year, and from the two parts of the Divine Service - the one for catechumens formed on the ritual of the synagogue, the second for communicants founded on the ritual of the temple."<sup>1.</sup>

It is strange that, while Gothic architecture was dominating Church building, while the pulpit was being pushed to the side to give place to the Holy Table, while Churches were being built with chancels and furnished with Baptismal Fonts, men did not pause to ask themselves more searchingly what was the doctrinal and psychological significance of these "improvements." Many apparently did not realise the extent of their own ignorance. The Scottish Church Society was at first commonly assailed as "Sacramentarian," when its opponents meant "Sacramentalist." Leishman, pitying the darkness of such ignorance asked "Can we wonder that under such teaching multitudes have come to see in the one Sacrament nothing but an educational pledge, in the other little more than a congregational love-feast ?"<sup>2.</sup>

What was considered the exaggerated use of hymns was held to destroy much of the objectivity of church worship, robbing it sometimes of doctrinal content, substituting emotionalism instead. The/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1895-6, p. 17.  
 2. S. C. S. Report, 1896-7, p. 25.

/The tendency to sing only snippets of the psalter, to neglect the paraphrases and canticles, was adversely commented upon.<sup>1.</sup>

"Even in those churches where the most rollicking hymns are sung to the noisiest tunes, we are occasionally indulged with three or four verses of a psalm set to a new-fangled air, invented or discovered by an ambitious and tasteless organist, but always supplying the tenor with an opportunity for singing louder than the rest of the Choir."<sup>2.</sup> "It is undeniable that the most popular hymns of today are not the hymns of Praise and of Faith - not the hymns concerning God - but rather those of a sentimental, reflective, subjective cast. How we love to sing about our souls, our hopes, our fears, our weaknesses, our tears (this we specially love) and our sins, provided the hymn does not paint with too black a brush." "We remember with shame the melancholy condition of the praise in most of our Churches, but a few years ago. Recently there have been great changes... yet it must be admitted that all have not been progress, that in many cases, the best use is not being made of the materials and opportunities at hand. Nothing more wretched than the rendering of the Praise in many churches some thirty years ago could well be imagined, but on the other hand, in many cases there was a quiet dignity, and a reverence manifested then which/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1901-2, p. 25.

2. J. H. Millar, THE PSALTER AND OTHER MATERIALS FOR PRAISE, p. 13.



/which have been lost in making room for the mighty thunder of the organ, the fair choristers, and the 'nice' hymns sung to 'pretty' tunes." <sup>1.</sup>

John Macleod vigorously opposed the Church's acceptance of the Joint Hymnal, because it contained an inadequate list of hymns on the great historical facts of the Christian Faith, such as Christ's Resurrection and Ascension. <sup>2.</sup>

The most serious criticism which this new Society had to make of the improvements in public worship effected in the Church since Lee's day, was (a) that they had not sufficiently stressed the Sacraments, (b) they did not set forth all Christian Worship as grounded upon the Doctrine of the Incarnate Son, now Ascended and Glorified, through whom all worship is to be offered in the yearly remembrance by the Church of His great redemptive acts. "The General Assembly this year," said Macleod, "met on Ascension Day, and the last Sunday of the General Assembly is the great Day of Pentecost. Well, as I say, I do not suppose many people attending the General Assembly, think much of these matters. We are not amazed at that, but it is a sign of the condition under which we live, that in the report of the Committee on Public Worship submitted some years ago, by Dr. Sprott, it was brought out/

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1. A. S. D. Scott, THE EXAGGERATED AND INDISCRIMINATE USE OF HYMNS IN PUBLIC WORSHIP.

*Ibid.*

2. "Scotsman," Reports in general;  
S. C. S. Report, 1896-7, p. 17.

/out that there were 441 parishes in which Christmas and Easter were observed, and only 41 in which attention was paid to Ascension or Pentecost."<sup>1.</sup>

Beneath the teaching concerning worship which this new development of the revival of worship set forth, lay, as we shall see, a strongly Incarnational<sup>2.</sup> theology. The stress laid upon the<sup>3.</sup> Ascension was a dominant note in the whole teaching.

"The corporate ministry of the flock of God before the Father is a mode of intercession of our Lord; for the Church is the creation and habitation of His Spirit. It is His body, inasmuch as it is vitalised by His soul, informed by His mind, and directed by His will to acts which are proper to Himself, and which it falls to the Church to perform, only because the life of the Church is actuated through the Holy Ghost by Christ, Who in the midst of the Church praises God... This vision of the Church's ministry before God as rather ministered by Christ through us than by us through ~~us~~ Christ should be, and will be if we have it, the safeguard and attraction of worship. The safeguard is obvious. We may well take heed what words we put in the mouth of our Lord, or what petitions we bring in His name. There is no care or reverence of choice, however great, no submission of every thought to His mind, which can in this regard seem adequate."<sup>4.</sup>

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1897-8, p. 21.

2. S. C. S. Report, 1899-1900, p. 27.

3. S. C. S. Report, 1897-8, p. 21;  
S. C. S.: ITS WORK 1892 - 1925, AND ITS CLAIMS, p. 7.  
W. Milligan, THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD.

4. H. J. Wotherspoon, in THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, p. 93 and pp. 99 - 100.

SECTION 10ACTION AND ASSERTIONa. The Foundation of the Scottish Church Society

On the Report of the Church Interests Committee in the Assembly of 1891, a plea was entered by two younger ministers against schism and for Christian unity. It took the form of an amendment to the effect that "the General Assembly, while rejoicing at the prospects of Presbyterian re-union, accepts such a union only as a step towards the complete unity of the Church of Crist." A new note was sounded: instead of ecclesiastical politics, here once more was the appeal to principle, which for nearly half a century had been out of fashion; and this seems to have been accepted by those who were waiting for such an appeal as a signal that the hour was ripe for action, indicating as it seemed to do, that Catholic ideas were more widely disseminated than had been supposed, and that if submitted to the Church, they would find at least a hearing.

Out of this, under the leadership of John Macleod, the Scottish Church Society grew. Macleod drew up the list of special objects to be aimed at,<sup>2.</sup> and suggested the phrase "true loyalty to the Church of Scotland."<sup>3.</sup> He was also credited with saying that "if the/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon, JAMES COOPER: A MEMOIR, p. 163.

2,3. See Constitution.

/the Society did nothing else, they had achieved much by the mere publication of the Aims."<sup>1.</sup> Macleod was speaking with prophetic insight, for probably the publication of the "Aims," taken together with the early Conferences of the Society, which expanded their meaning, was the greatest achievement of the Society. The Society failed in many of its objects - e.g., in endeavouring to have the Nicene Creed inserted in the subscription formula for Ministers at Ordination, in excluding the Individual Cup from Holy Communion, in having the Scottish Episcopal Church included in the re-union discussions between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church of Scotland. But many of the points raised by the "Aims," just at that time, must have startled many in their way of thinking, re-asserting truths set forth in the Church's Confessional Standards, but neglected and forgotten,<sup>24a-</sup> rousing opposition and criticism which were easily turned back upon the critics and the opponents themselves. This assertion of a Churchly and Catholic tradition in the Church of Scotland was eventually to bear fruit in the Church whether by this Society's continued testimony, or in spite of the existence of the Society, which long continued to be distrusted. But the important thing was that the assertion was made when it was - amid the widespread theological liberalism, the schism which, masked as denominational rivalry, was sometimes considered healthy enough/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1903-4, p. 34.

2a. S. C. S. Report, 1895-6. pp. 12 - 14.

/enough, and the prevailing low view of sacramental grace.

The promoters of the new movement were at pains to assert that they were no pale imitators of the English Tractarians, seeking to foist a non-traditional Churchmanship upon the Scottish Church.<sup>1.</sup> They asserted that a Churchly and Catholic Churchmanship was manifest in the SCOTS CONFESSION and the SECOND HELVETIC CONFESSION, and that this tradition had never died out.<sup>2.</sup> Certainly the abusive criticism offered them at first bore a strange resemblance to the charges of Prelacy and Jesuitry cast at the "Forty" at the Disruption.<sup>3.</sup> Certainly the revival of Church principles in the Church of Scotland can be dated as far back as the publication in 1868 of Leishman's WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY and Sprott's BOOK OF COMMON ORDER.<sup>4.</sup>

"Dr. John Macleod was accustomed to say that 'but for Leishman and Sprott, there would have been no movement, and that it was they who opened the quarry and supplied the material.'"<sup>5.</sup>

But it would be foolish to deny that the promoters were uninfluenced in asserting the Catholic principles of Church Doctrine, and Worship, by Catholic Faith and Order as seen outside the Church of Scotland.

<sup>6.</sup> Leishman re-read Scott every winter. At Ashiestiel, Cooper "thanked/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1895-6, pp. 12 - 13.
  2. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 114.
  3. See WHEAT AND CHAFF GATHERED INTO BUNDLES, p. 13, and "Glasgow Herald," Nov. 1892.
  4. S. C. S. Report, 1895-6, p. 27.
  5. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 114, note 2.
  6. J. F. Leishman, LINTON LEAVES, pp. 107 - 108.

/"thanked God for Sir Walter, prayed that his work, purged of any dross of earthliness, might be carried on in Scottish society and in the Church of Scotland,"<sup>1.</sup> and the sermons which he preached at the restoration of some of the ancient Scottish Churches disclose affinity of spirit in things mediaeval.<sup>2.</sup>

The influence of Scott on the Tractarian Movement has often been pointed out,<sup>3.</sup> and Cooper, who professed to ~~knew~~ owe much to Dr. Pusey, was in some ways the Pusey of the Church of Scotland - conservative in theology, revering tradition, seeking a satisfactory Via Media in Church re-union. John Macleod, of course, since his Duns ministry had been influenced by the teaching of the Catholic Apostolic Church, and just before his death. Leishman, because the Church of Scotland did not seem to declare her defence of the Catholic faith clearly enough, even spoke of going into lay communion with the Church of England.<sup>4.</sup> How far this movement was a re-assertion of Catholic and Churchly principles held by the Church of Scotland since the Reformation, and how far it imported an alien Churchmanship must be discussed later, but in the early years of the Society's activity, the Thornliebank and St. Margaret's, Barnhill, cases proved that not all the adherents of the new movement were rigidly loyal to the doctrine and ritual of the Reformed Church Of Scotland. Indeed/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon, *op. cit.*, p. 155.
  2. James Cooper: KINDNESS TO THE DEAD.
  3. See H. P. Liddon, LIFE OF E. B. PUSEY.
  4. J. F. Leishman, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

/Indeed, the "Church Times" was impertinent enough to comment, "It may be added, as straws showing which way the wind blows, that a son of Dr. Marshall Lang... has lately been admitted to Anglican Orders, and that a son of Dr. John Macleod is also preparing for ordination in an English diocese."<sup>1.</sup>

Whether the formation of a party was the best method of propagating such views is open to question. There must have been unhappy memories of the evils of the party spirit at the Disruption. The formation of a definite party would suggest that its standpoint was that of a small group within the Church, and was not the historic, official standpoint of the whole Church.<sup>2.</sup> It may be that, by continuing to witness as individual scholars, the leaders might have found their teaching more readily accepted by the Church in their own time.

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1. "Church Times," Nov. 4th, 1892.
  2. See A. Wallace Williamson, Opening Address, S. C. S. Conference, Perth, 1902; also "Church of Scotland Home and Missionary Record," January 1st, 1894, p. 340.

b. The Divine Nature of the Church

The first of the special objects of the Scottish Church Society was "The consistent affirmation of the divine basis, supernatural life, and heavenly calling of the Church."<sup>1.</sup>

Very definite teaching regarding the Nature of Church and her worship was now set forth, teaching which was new in emphasis, if not also in content, in the history of the Church of Scotland since 1690.

The Church was held to be the Body of Christ, not merely in the sense that she is the ecclesia of the elect, the fellowship of those souls in whom Christ dwells by a saving, personal faith, but in the sense of being a divinely appointed institution, with God-given forms and functions, which Christ has chosen to be the sphere of His abode, of His continual self-manifestation, and exercise of grace among men. The Church is frequently termed "the extension of the Incarnation."<sup>2.</sup> The fact that Christ, before His Ascension left ready<sup>3</sup> prepared the constituent elements of His Church which was to be born as a living organism at Pentecost, is spoken of as God having prepared for His Son another Body through which to perpetuate Christ's ministry on earth after His Ascension.<sup>3.</sup>

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1. Constitution, IV, 1.
  2. H. J. Wotherspoon, THE REVIVAL OF CHURCHMANSHIP IN SCOTLAND, p. 79;  
The Pentecostal Gift, pp. 28 and 33.
  3. Wotherspoon and Kirkpatrick, A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, pp. 2 - 3.



"The Incarnation is fulfilled through Pentecost in the wider Incarnation which is His mystical Body the Church... At Pentecost He found what He had sought by His Cross and Passion - the Shepherd found His flock (without which He were not the Shepherd) and the King His Kingdom, and the Bridegroom His espoused."<sup>1.</sup>

The Church is a true organism. Her members, incorporated by Baptism, are the cells; Christ is the Church's unifying life through the Holy Spirit.<sup>2.</sup> The Church is no mere body of believers united by a common faith and devoted to one Master and His teaching. She is Christ's agent on earth exercising through the Holy Spirit, Christ's Kingly, Priestly and Prophetic functions.<sup>3.</sup> The Church's ministry on earth is united organically with Christ's ministry in Heaven. What He is doing in Heaven, He is also doing in and through His Church on earth. "The presence of Christ in the Church which all Christians confess must not be interpreted to mean that by an ethical process, the Church is permeated by His teaching, and exhibits His temper: it means the transmission to the Church through the Divine Spirit, as mediated by Christ, of the actual energy of that humanity which is taken into the Godhead. It means an objective extension of the personal consciousness<sup>and</sup> volition of the ascended Son of Man - an actual presence of His complete life, correlating to/

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1. THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, pp. 33 - 34.

2. Ibid, p. 94.

3. Wotherspoon and Kirkpatrick, op. cit., pp. 7 - 12.

/to Himself and to each other the individual human personalities which th~~is~~s Divine human activity seizes and assimilates to form of them for itself an organism - His Body." <sup>1.</sup> "It is no figure or metaphor or parable, this vital incorporation of the believer into a new whole which Christ permeates - th~~is~~s extension of Himself into the consecrated fellowship which He severs out of the world by informing it with ~~life~~ His life." <sup>2.</sup>

From this definition of the Church as the Body of Christ, it is argued that schism is the wounding of His Body, <sup>3.</sup> that the Church is the Body which the Holy Spirit requires as His special sphere of operation, <sup>4.</sup> that the Church is not so much to be thought of as doing work, as bearing fruit. When the Church undertakes evangelism, she must remember that such an undertaking is "Christ's effort to speak to His own among the Nations." <sup>5.</sup>

When the Church's prayer ascends to the Father, she must remember that this is "not, as the world sees, a handful out of the careless thousands of our streets gathering to repeat hackneyed petitions and threadbare hymns - it is to recognise our Lord, returned in Spirit and clothing Himself in this flesh of ours, which also is His, though it is not yet brought to the likeness of/

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1. THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, pp. 93 - 94.
  2. Ibid, p. 95.
  3. Ibid, p. 96.
  4. S. C. S. Report, 1897-8, p. 27.
  5. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 80.

/of His glory - taking it, bringing it, coming in it to the Father, and speaking by it in supplications and prayers and thanksgiving and intercessions.<sup>1.</sup> "To the Vision of Heaven it is not we who pray; it is Christ Who kneels before the Father, and we are but the knees by which His Holy Body touched this gross earth. It is Christ who worships and presents Himself, the only sacrifice, we in Him, and He in us, perfected into one thing."<sup>2.</sup>

The Church, as the Body of Christ, is not merely the sphere in which the fullness of ~~life~~ His life is manifested, it is also "the organised instrument of His will,"<sup>3.</sup> for Man's salvation and for the Father's glory. The Church has accordingly the authority to guard, and interpret and expound, the Scriptures.<sup>4.</sup> She has to keep the Faith by the Scriptures, yet she herself is at the same time kept by them, for her whole life and doctrine are judged by that Revelation which is anterior to herself.

Her ordinances are Christ's ordinances, instituted by Him, repeatedly made effective by ~~His~~ ministering of them in the Church.<sup>5.</sup> Members are incorporated into the Church by Baptism and nourished by Holy Communion.<sup>6.</sup> The offering of the Holy Eucharist is the Church's highest privilege, for the Church's chief function is to worship.<sup>7.</sup>

1. THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, p. 97.

2. Ibid, pp. 97 - 98.

3. W. Milligan, Sermon to Sunday School Teachers in the Presbytery of Dundee.

4. THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, pp. 70 - 71.

5. Ibid, pp. 74 - 78.

6. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 89;

Wotherspoon and Kirkpatrick, op. cit., pp. 20 - 21.

7. cf. J. Macleod, THE NORMAL PLACE OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, p. 12.

/worship. The Eucharist is the chief and normal Sunday act of worship in which the organic unity between the Church's Ministry on Earth and the Ministry of the Ascended Saviour in His Humanity<sup>1.</sup> unto the Godhead is most fully realised.

While great stress is laid upon the necessity for a validly ~~organised~~ ordained ministry, and Presbyterian orders as found in the Established Church are defended as Apostolical, the priesthood of all believers is emphasised. Baptized believers are to view themselves as a race apart, set among men through their share in the Church's priestly function, to testify and minister God's<sup>2.</sup> truth to all men.

The propagation of this teaching regarding the Church would, it was believed, emphasise the sin of schism, deliver Church people from many errors, by pointing out that the Church was an organism, not a mechanism, and inspire fresh zeal and consecration by explaining the supernatural nature of the Church's life and worship. It was also believed that the Church of Scotland in general, and this view of her nature in particular, would be able to win Christ's poor for the Church, and would sweep away criticisms of the rising Socialism, and meet its legitimate spiritual demands.<sup>3.</sup> "It is the social, not the individual aspect of the question which now becomes prominent. Denominationalism has no promise for the masses. A Christianity/

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1. J. Macleod, op. cit., p. 12.

2. cf. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit.

3. W. Milligan, Presidential Address, S. C. S. Report, 1892-3.

/Christianity represented by self-associated congregations can have little light or teaching in the direction of consideration for the depressed and neglected sections of the population. Congregationalism, whether established or unestablished, is representative of the contented and comfortable classes. It comes to be ministered to, not to minister; it pays for that, and it takes good care to get what it pays for. It will be a vain thing to look to it for any witness to Christianity in social or economic relations. It is quiet in safe generalisations... It is not the idea of the worth of the soul and of the possibility of its redemption, nor to the generous and fearless testimony which liberalism in Christianity has borne to ethical justice, that working-men leaders appeal when they claim the countenance of Christianity for their aspirations; it is to the idea of the Church, its conception of brotherhood, and its tradition of resistance to oppression and of protection for weakness."<sup>1.</sup>

A letter to the press rejoiced in the formation of the Scottish Church Society because "the evangelical section of the Church must confess that as a factor in reaching the poor or non-church-going class, they have been a miserable failure, and how could it be otherwise when poor people cannot enter the House of God without Sunday clothes, nor occupy a pew therein without paying a rent therefore, and have to stand by and see churches removed/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 85.

/removed from amongst their midst and planted in well-to-do localities, whilst spiritual nourishment is doled out to them by youthful ministers, or lay amateurs in miserable mission halls ? I don't know whether the Scottish Church Society will remedy these evils or not, but from their programme, I take it that they will advocate free and open Churches, abolish the God-dishonouring pew system, and see that the poor have the Gospel preached to them by a competent and duly-trained pastorate." <sup>1.</sup>

The fact that the Church cannot leave the care of the poor to the philanthropist was made an argument for the National Recognition of religion. <sup>2.</sup>

While returning to the Ante-Nicene doctrine of the Church, the new movement did not reject the distinction between the Visible and Invisible Church. <sup>3.</sup>

Dr. John Macleod summed up their reasons for teaching as they did regarding the Church: "It seemed to many of them that whatever else might be needed, one thing that was needed... was the restoration all round of a deeper and higher sense of what the Church of God is, of what the place of the Ministers of Christ in the Church is, of what the vocation of the people really is, of what the blessing the Sacraments exhibit and convey to us is.

What was needed was not so much the multiplication of her expedients/

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1. "Glasgow Herald," Nov. 2nd, 1892.
  2. George Hutchison, NATIONAL RELIGION: ITS PRINCIPLES AND POSSIBLE EMBODIMENTS, p. 34.
  3. Wotherspoon and Kirkpatrick, op. cit., pp. 12 - 15.

/expedients, but the recovery on the part of the Church of a higher sense of the Divine Will in regard to every branch of the Church's vocation and the Church's work." <sup>1.</sup>

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1. W. Milligan: THE SCOTTISH CHURCH SOCIETY: SOME ACCOUNT OF ITS AIMS, Appendix B, p. 25.

c. The Reality of Sacramental Grace

The Church's life is essentially Sacramental. All effective Christian witness and work must have the Sacraments as the source of their power. To deny, misunderstand or neglect sacramental grace is to interfere with the Divinely appointed Church order to our spiritual peril. Men can be urged to attend Church only when it is made clear to them that in her worship grace is offered which is not normally to be obtained elsewhere.<sup>1.</sup> Baptism and the Lord's Supper are the two Sacraments generally necessary for Salvation.<sup>2.</sup> The assertion of the efficacy of the Sacraments, the promotion of the religious education and pastoral care of the young, on the basis of Holy Baptism, and the restoration of Holy Communion to its right place in relation to the worship of the Church, and to the spiritual life of the baptized, were among the special objects aimed at by the new movement.<sup>3.</sup> Christ stands behind His own ordinances, filling them with power. Men are made members of His Church by Baptism, and live in it by Holy Communion,<sup>4.</sup> discerning the Lord's Body in the Church.

"The Faith, the Ministry, and the Sacraments are all anterior to the Church - given to it, and to be guarded by it as they have been given."<sup>5.</sup> /

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1. J. Macleod, THE NORMAL PLACE OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, p. 12.
  2. H. J. Wotherspoon, KYRIE ELEISON, p. 169.
  3. S. C. S. Constitution, IV: 4, 5, 6.
  4. H. J. Wotherspoon, THE REVIVAL OF CHURCHMANSHIP IN SCOTLAND, p. 81; Wotherspoon and Kirkpatrick, op. cit., pp. 94 - 105.
  5. Wotherspoon and Kirkpatrick, op. cit., pp. 6 - 7.



/given." "We believe," said Sprott, "in the assertion of the CONFESSION OF FAITH, 'Christ hath given the ministry, oracles and ordinances of God'... It follows from this that to depart from His appointments involves not only disobedience and confusion, but loss of grace. Some years ago, there was the greatest danger of the principles being established, that men not ordained by Bishops or Presbyters should be allowed to minister in the Church, and but for that danger, this Society might never have been formed."<sup>1.</sup> "It is with lowering ~~of the~~ doctrine of the Sacraments that unbelief has usually begun. The missing link in much that is called evangelical religion is the link of vital union with the Second Adam, including that bodily nexus with His glorified Humanity, as signified and sealed in the Sacraments, which Calvin held as dear as life, and which has been so emphatically asserted<sup>2.</sup> in every standard of our Church since the Reformation." In 1903, reviewing the earlier work of the Scottish Church Society, Wallace Williamson commented, "We reminded unwilling brethren that our Scottish forefathers believed in the validity and efficacy of the Sacraments."<sup>3.</sup> Earlier, Cooper had repudiated Story's charge that the Scottish Church Society's members were "Sacramentarians, mediaevalists,/"

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1895-6, p. 16.

2. Ibid, p. 15;

See also S. C. S. Report, 1930-1, pp. 21 - 22.

3. S. C. S. Report, 1902-3, p. 15.

/mediaevalists, and sentimentalists," by asserting that the society taught what Knox and the Reformers taught regarding the Sacraments,<sup>1.</sup> and had added "It is another reason for our existence that our simple affirmation of the doctrine of our own Standards on the subject of the Holy Sacraments and the Holy Ministry should be made the grounds of persistent attack on our Society. It is not we who in this matter 'have drifted away' from what one gentleman calls 'the grand old simplicity of the Presbyterian system.' It is those who have abandoned the sacramental teaching of Calvin, of Knox, of our First Confession, and of our Westminster Confession, and who have adopted what our Reformers called 'the vanity of those who affirm sacraments to be nothing other than naked or bare signs' - it is they who have drifted far from the true Presbyterian position, till they have, some of them, come perilously near the quicksands of Socinianism."<sup>2.</sup>

At a time when, among many, Baptism was viewed merely as a pledge of regeneration offered by God through Christ to faith in a later experience of conversion, or as a dedication by parents of their offspring to God, and a promise by them of Christian training for their families, the new movement was to assert not only that in Baptism there is Regeneration and Engrafting into Christ, but that the fact of a child's Baptism should be the foundation/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1899-1900, p. 17.

2. S. C. S. Report, 1894-1895, pp. 18 - 19.

/foundation for himself and for others of his subsequent devotional life and Christian education.

At a time when the Lord's Supper was widely viewed as a solemn memorial of Christ's death, a pledge to saving faith of the promises of His Atonement, and an occasion of repentance, faith and renewed dedication by the converted to Christ Himself, the new movement proclaimed as the true nature of the anamnesis - the linking of Christ, the Heavenly Intercessor, organically with the pleading of His Sacrifice in the Sacrament by the Church on earth, and emphasised that faithful and worthy communicants receive the Body and Blood of the Ascended Saviour in a spiritual manner for their continual nourishment and growth in grace.

"The relation of the ordinances of the Lord in the Church to the Pentecostal Gift may therefore be defined as an instrumental relation. The Holy Ghost employs these ordinances, animates and vivifies them, confers upon them their actual efficacy... They are the regular modes of spiritual operation. They are the channels in which the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory, is ministered to the corporate Church and to the individual soul." <sup>1.</sup>

"Although the Lord has appointed Ordinances in the Church through which by the Holy Ghost to communicate His benefits, these are not merely mechanical in their operation... men must co-operate, <sup>2.</sup> must improve the grace given."

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1. THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, pp. 56 - 57.

2. Ibid, p. 59.

The Holy Ghost is ordinarily operative only through the ordinances of the Church.

"Whether that gift is ever operative apart from faithful and loving obedience to these ordinances, is a question which one hesitates to answer hastily. The ready affirmative often maintained is really based upon careless observation."<sup>1.</sup>

The Church is the Body of Christ. The ordinances of the Church derive all their efficacy from the energy of Christ's Heavenly Life, which is the virtue of the Pentecostal Gift, circulating in the Body through the ordinances.<sup>1.</sup>

<sup>2.</sup>At the time it was shrewdly pointed out that the most revolutionary of all the points raised in the list of special objects, to which the Scottish Church Society addressed itself, was No. 5 - "the promotion of the religious education and pastoral care of the young, on the basis of Holy Baptism."

"None but a Scotsman can fully understand the depth and far-reachingness of this article, for if, as the Apostle held, Baptism is election, and the baptized are the elect who have to make their calling and election sure; and Scots are to be taught accordingly, the gloom of Calvinism will soon be rolled away, never again, we trust, to return. It may be urged that the article has no other meaning than is involved in the 28th Chapter of the CONFSSION. Granted,/"

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1. Ibid, p. 54.

2. "Church Times," 11th Nov. 1892.

/granted, yet the fact remains that the training of young Presbyterians has not hitherto impressed with the value of Baptismal Grace, apart from some other operation over which they have not got the slightest control." <sup>1.</sup>

In 1918 Dr. Cooper admitted that to attach much significance to Baptism was in 1892 viewed as superstition. He also attributed the decrease in requests for Baptism in the intervening years to defective teaching on the Sacrament by ministers. <sup>2.</sup>

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1. Ibid.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1917-18, p. 23.

d. The Holy Eucharist as the Divine Service

Dr. Wallace Williamson, commenting in 1903 on the Barnhill case, said; "It has one important aspect in which all of us must rejoice - the strong appeal made by the convener of the committee, Dr. Norman Macleod, for more frequent opportunity of Communion. It is something gained that such a recommendation should have been made in the Assembly, and it is no small satisfaction to know that the reference to monthly Communion was so cordially met by the Assembly. No more welcome advance could be conceived for thousands of our people, above all for the honour of our Lord, whose Apostle's word 'As oft as ye eat this bread' is a standing rebuke to our general practice."<sup>1.</sup>

John Macleod, giving a meditation at the opening service of the first conference of the Scottish Church Society, said:

"So long as the Church had the Holy Eucharist, she had a fount of joy, which the world could not take away."<sup>2.</sup>

These remarks are symptomatic of a change in the Church of Scotland in the general attitude to the celebration of the Lord's Supper. There was a growing willingness to contemplate, at least, more frequent celebrations, bereft of the numerous preparatory services which once were general, and an increasing readiness to see/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1902-3, p. 20.

2. Minutes of the Scottish Church Society, 25. 11. 1892, p. 25.

/see in the Sacrament a means of grace intended to assist the faithful in the day to day duties of the Christian life.

Very few, however, shared the views of those who stood in the advance guard of this movement. John Macleod, above all others, pled repeatedly for a weekly celebration. He was its most fearless and unwearied advocate.<sup>1.</sup> In this, he stood by himself. Others, notably Cromarty Smith, within the Scottish Church Society, shared his views, but for them the issue was not fundamental to their entire theological and liturgical outlook.

"In these days," wrote Macleod in 1887, "of changes and improvements in worship, it is well to remember that all improvements are more or less spurious and defective, unless the service of the Holy Table is set in order and receives its proper place. Read again Malachi I; 11 and 12, and Hebrews 10; 19 - 22."<sup>2.</sup>

Macleod did not succeed in establishing more than a monthly celebration at Govan, but in 1906, with the unanimous consent of the Kirk Session, Cromarty Smith began in the newly-formed church of Trinity, Coatdyke, a weekly celebration, which has continued ever since without interruption.<sup>3.</sup>

Macleod did not teach that all should communicate every Sunday, but that every Sunday "this public memorial of the Unity of the whole/

1. See especially S. C. S. typescript, J. Macleod, THE NORMAL PLACE OF THE HOLY COMMUNION; also J. Macleod, HOLY COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION, WITH A NOTE ON FAST DAYS.
2. J. Macleod, HOLY COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION, p. 21.
3. See TRINITY PARISH CHURCH, COATDYKE, 1905 - 1955.

/whole Church ought to be performed according to the will of the Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>1.</sup> H. J. Wotherspoon likewise urged that the Church must not wait on the individual for opportunity to worship, and believed there was a place for non-communicating attendance.<sup>2.</sup>

The abolition of the Fast Day with its adjuncts was urged as reducing the need for assistant clergy, and thus facilitating more frequent celebrations.<sup>3.</sup>

Scruples about receiving the Sacrament unworthily were dismissed as being frequently ill-founded. Macleod argued that such scruples should also be entertained with regard to hearing the Word, or participating in the Church's common prayer.

"The only safeguard," he argued, "is in drawing near continually, but in utter self-distrust and in true trust in the mercy and grace of God."<sup>4.</sup>

"If," wrote H. J. Wotherspoon, "we are able to communicate weekly, the Sacrament of each week is in great measure a preparation for the next... one should never communicate without preparation. But also, one should never be entirely unprepared to communicate."<sup>5.</sup>

Macleod himself testified that, but for the spiritual refreshment of the monthly Eucharist, he could not have borne the great burden of his parochial labours at Govan.<sup>6.</sup>

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1. J. Macleod, THE NORMAL PLACE OF HOLY COMMUNION, p. 29.
  2. H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, pp. 255 - 256.
  3. See J. Macleod, HOLY COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION; R. H. Story, ON FAST DAYS, WITH A REFERENCE TO MORE FREQUENT COMMUNION AND GOOD FRIDAY.
  4. J. Macleod, HOLY COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION, pp. 17 - 18.
  5. H. J. Wotherspoon, KYRIE ELEISON, pp. 55 - 56.
  6. J. Macleod, THE NORMAL PLACE OF THE HOLY COMMUNION.



The two principal reasons advanced in favour of a weekly Eucharist were:

1. Our Lord's command, Apostolic usage, the example of the early Church, and the intention of the Reformers;
2. The nature of the Sacrament itself as an act of worship and as a means of grace.

"It is not," reasoned Macleod, "merely part of the worship, but it is the distinctive Christian worship which the Lord ordained. He did not ordain less than this, and He did not ordain more than this. He said "Do this"... "there is exactly the same evidence that the Apostles devoted the Lord's Day to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, as there is that they kept the Lord's Day at all."<sup>1.</sup>

Macleod made much of the point that Christ re-instituted the Lord's Supper by a special revelation to St. Paul, and thereby indicated the transcendent importance of the ordinance and its intimate connection with the life of the Ascended Lord.<sup>2.</sup>

Macleod felt that the Church could not possibly justify herself in descending to a lower order of worship than that instituted by Christ Himself. "If," he said, "weekly celebration is thus in accordance with the mind of the Lord, it is reasonable to believe that He will Himself provide for those who seek to obey/

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1. Ibid.  
 2. John Macleod, HOLY COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION, p. 1.  
 John Macleod, THE GOSPEL OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, pp. 4 - 11.

/obey Him all needful safeguards against such temptations or dangers as may thence arise. The presumption is obviously that dangers arising through neglect of His will must be infinitely greater than any besetting the effort to obey it." <sup>1.</sup> He believed that the place which the Lord's Supper should occupy in Christian worship was as much a matter of Revelation as the doctrine of the Supper itself. <sup>2.</sup>

The fact that the Apostolic Church had a weekly celebration was taken as undisputed, <sup>3.</sup> and that the Reformers in general desired one also was taken as proved. <sup>4.</sup> Moreover, a weekly celebration was said to be in accord with the best Presbyterian tradition. Macleod quoted Baxter as saying "It is part of the settled order for the Lord's Day worship, and omitting it maimeth and altereth the worship of the day..."

He referred to the FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE as recommending quarterly Communion, but only on account of "the special circumstances of that time, the parochial confusion, and the weakened faith of the people, and mentioned monthly Communion as the provision of KNOX'S LITURGY. <sup>5.</sup> It was suggested that the Westminster DIRECTORY implies the possibility of a frequency of celebration so great that the necessity/

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1. John Macleod, HOLY COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION, pp. 4 - 5.
  2. John Macleod, THE NORMAL PLACE OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, p. 19.
  3. cf. H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, p. 85.
  4. Ibid, p. 86, note 1.
  5. John Macleod, HOLY COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION, pp. 7 - 8.

/necessity of any intimation on the previous Sunday was superseded.<sup>1.</sup>

Frequent Communion was at this time often criticised as "un-Presbyterian." Macleod answered this charge in two ways. He maintained that there had scarcely ~~been~~ ever been lacking in the Reformed Church of Scotland those who desired more frequent Communion. He cited names such as Thomas Boston and John Brown of Haaddington, referring to the numerous Acts of Assembly regarding the desirability of more frequent celebrations.<sup>2.</sup>

Also, he was bold to dismiss the objection with the statement: "If Presbyterianism means the repudiation of the Lord's will in these matters, the sooner that Presbyterianism is blown to the winds of heaven, the better."<sup>3.</sup>

Macleod compared the Church of Scotland unfavourably with the Church of England, in the matter of frequency of Holy Communion. He estimated that there were in the Church of Scotland 600 congregations with one or two celebrations per year; about 100 with four, and two with a monthly celebration. (December 1897). He added that "there is against the hundreds, perhaps I may say thousands in the Church of England, not one congregation in Scripture loving Scotland, in which... there is to be found a literal and explicit fulfilment of the Divine ordinance."<sup>4.</sup>

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1. J. Macleod, op. cit., pp. 9 - 10;  
H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, A MANUAL OF  
CHURCH DOCTRINE, p. 87.
  2. J. Macleod, THE NORMAL PLACE OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, p. 8.
  3. Ibid, p. 33.
  4. Ibid, pp. 9 - 10.

Macleod took a leading part in the abolition of the Fast Day in Glasgow, with a view to encouraging more frequent celebrations. Sprott said that frequent celebration of the Lord's Supper ought to characterise the ministries of members of the Scottish Church Society.<sup>1.</sup>

As time went on, the Lord's Supper was celebrated rather more often. Quarterly celebrations became more common; one or two congregations had a monthly celebration; the Sacrament began to be celebrated in connection with special parochial missions.<sup>2.</sup> It was suggested that the Synods should open with the Sacrament. Progress was not easy. Even where difficulties were least expected, they were found to be not easily surmountable. Even in St. Giles', despite Cameron Lees' training in worship, the Kirk Session declined to co-operate in the celebration of the Lord's Supper during the sitting of the General Assembly when this was first introduced.<sup>3.</sup>

It was really only during the Great War that frequent celebrations, and celebrations apart from the statutory, parochial "Communion Sundays," began to be accepted or appreciated.

Progress was very slow. In 1916 it was estimated that there were still 90 parishes with only one celebration per year.<sup>4.</sup> In 1921, the frequency of celebration throughout the Church in 1920 was compared/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1907-8.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1907-8, pp. 26 - 27.
  3. N. Maclean, op. cit., pp. 323 - 327.
  4. S. C. S. Report, 1915-16, p. 8.

/compared with that of 1888. In 1888 there was an average of 1.5 celebrations per parish per year. In 1920 it was 2.5. In 1888 200 parishes had only one celebration annually; in 1920 the number had fallen to 150. In 1888 the number with three celebrations was 58; in 1920 this had risen to 155. In 1888 the number with four celebrations was 75; in 1920 it was 110. In 1888 105 mission stations had no specified Communion Sunday; in 1920 the number was 53.<sup>1.</sup>

It was, however, realised that four celebrations instead of two were no real advance,<sup>2.</sup> in view of the place which the Sacrament was intended to occupy in public worship, and remembering that, in former days, although there might be only one or two celebrations per year in a particular parish, the parishioners often communicated at the celebrations in neighbouring parishes.

Some of the practical difficulties in the way of frequent celebrations were adversely commented on - the extra ministerial duty of addressing separate relays of communicants, the burden of distributing Communion cards or tokens, and the length of the service caused by adding the Communion Service to the usual diet of worship.<sup>3.</sup>

Macleod insisted that sermons at the Holy Communion must be brief. "It is," he said, "utterly impossible to realise in practice the true conception of a Eucharistic Service so long as the sermon is/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1920-1, pp. 12 - 13.  
 2. S. C. S. Report, 1922-3, p. 24.  
 3. S. C. S. Report, 1920-1, p. 14.

/is made the principal feature of it. Sermons of instruction, of argument, and the like, should be preached at other times, and separated from services of worship when the protracted exposition of Divine truth, often called for, has to be given. What should be preached to believing worshippers before celebration ought to be but a brief homily or devotional meditation, uttered in an adorational spirit and with the definite object of quickening the faith of the communicants in their standing as 'accepted in the beloved,' and as free to pass on, 'in full assurance of faith,' to present their worship in the Holiest of All."<sup>1</sup>

The last part of this quotation points to the great reason why John Macleod and others who shared his views insisted that the Eucharist must have a central place in Christian worship - namely, its meaning as a Divinely appointed act of worship.

This understanding of the Sacrament was well expressed by Cromarty Smith in 1923: "It is to be feared that there is yet in many quarters a disposition to regard Holy Communion as merely an opportunity for an introspective calling to mind of the actual dying of Christ, a kind of Good Friday meditation. It is needless to inquire how it is that such ideas have come to be entertained, and it is surely as needless to say that they are not in accord either with the teaching of Holy Scripture or with the Standards of/

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1. J. Macleod, THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION AND THE DAILY SERVICE, p. 132.

/of the Church of Scotland. Doubtless, at the Lord's Table, we call to mind the Cross and what the Lord suffered there, but we do very much more than this. Our action at the Lord's Table is not primarily a calling to mind at all. It is commemoration, an anamnesis, an offering to God. As the Confession puts it, it is our 'spiritual oblation of all possible praise unto God.' What must be taught is the joyfulness of the act. It is worship, the truest Christian worship; and if this were taught as it ought to be, the difficulty of persuading people that <sup>we</sup> must 'oft the sacred rite renew' would vanish, and so the day would be hastened when once more, as in the Church's best days, the Holy Communion will be regarded as the normal, as it is the Divinely appointed worship of every Lord's Day." <sup>1.</sup>

The Church of Scotland was now being counselled to make the Lord's Supper her chief act of Sunday worship week by week, because of Christ's institution, because of Apostolic usage, because the Sacrament was held to be the chief means of grace, <sup>2.</sup> and because in this rite the Church was seen to have a special access to the Father, whereby the offering of the Church below was united with the offering of Christ in Heaven.

The Lord's Supper, it was taught, is the Church's essential act of worship, in the offering of which the believing soul and Christ, /

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1922-3, p. 24.
  2. H. J. Wotherspoon, KYRIE ELEISON, p. 53;  
J. Macleod, HOLY COMMUNION AND FREQUENCY OF CELEBRATION, p. 13;  
H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, p. 73.

/Christ, the Church on earth and the Ascended and Glorified Lord are brought into an intimate, mystical union. Nowhere, it was held, is the Church more really the Church than when she is celebrating the Holy Mysteries.

This teaching sought to restore the Reformed ideal of a balanced worship in which the Word and Sacrament would be represented each Sunday. It went much further. It catered for that craving for sacrifice, which lies deep in the heart of the devout soul's quest for God. It took up the teaching on the unity of the offering of the Eucharist with Christ's pleading of His Sacrifice for sinners in Heaven, which had been popularised by the Tractarians, and which had from time to time been taught in the pre-Reformation Church.

In adopting this teaching, Macleod and others in the Scottish Church were careful to reject two doctrines frequently associated with it, viz., the repetition in the Eucharist of the Sacrifice of the Cross, and the presence of the Body and Blood beneath the veils of Bread and Wine on the Altar after the Consecration.

Dr. William Milligan, who was in a real sense the father of the movement, traced the weakness of the Church in his time to her failure to carry out on earth "the oblation-life of the Heavenly High-Priest."<sup>1</sup>

H. J. Wotherspoon quoted Troeltsch with approval: "The absence of Communion and Cultus is the specific malady of modern Christianity."<sup>2</sup>

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1. W. Milligan, THE ASCENSION OF OUR LORD, pp. 274-5;  
See also pp. 265-6.

2. H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, p. 294.



It was implied that without the celebration of the Eucharist, the Divine Service remained imperfect, less than Christian, bereft of an efficacy not otherwise obtainable. For in the Eucharist, the Church, it was held, co-operates with Christ in His approach to the Father for us, and this by his own appointment, and in the Holy Communion Christ mediates to us all grace and life from the Father.

Here Christ "points back to His finished work and consecrates Himself in the power of His risen life to God, and carries His whole Church with Him - He the Angel of the Covenant - into the presence of the Father, ever pleading for the completion of that Church - well, I say next Lord's Day it is the Lord's will that He come down and be known to us to be in the midst of the flock, and that He should take us into unity with Him in accomplishing the same action and the same intercession, shewing forth the death, pleading the power of the risen life for the whole Church until He come. The moment we realise that that is the will of the Living Lord, we begin to see that to lie back and loiter in the vestibule when He asks us to come into the Holiest of all, to say we are only to have half a blessing when He would give us a full blessing, to say we want only a sermon that will be interesting when He asks us to do a work for Him and for the hastening of His Kingdom-- there is no one who perceives that who does not see that this is a far more/

/more serious question than many people seem to suppose." <sup>1.</sup>

This view of the Eucharist is based on the assumption, clearly taught in the published works of Macleod, Milligan, and H. J. Wotherspoon, that Hebrews 13; 10 refers to the Lord's Supper, and that in Heaven the Ascended Saviour is engaged not merely in intercession, but also in pleading the Eternal Sacrifice of the Cross before the Throne.

This teaching is based upon the Jewish practice on the Day of Atonement, whereby "the death of the animal selected for sacrifice did not atone for sin. Sin was not thereby 'covered.' The offerer had no doubt identified himself with his victim. Its life had been set before God as a representation of his life: and in the shedding of its blood, so that victim died, the offerer had acknowledged in symbolic act that death was the meet reward of the transgressions with which he himself was chargeable. Another step, however, had to be taken before the atonement was made. The blood obtained by slaughtering was given either upon ordinary occasions to the priest, who smeared it upon the horns of the altar; or upon the great Day of Atonement to the high-priest, who sprinkled it upon the Mercy Seat, that he might thus bring it into the closest contact with God. Not till this was done was the Atonement perfected, sin covered, and the broken covenant restored. Atonement, in short, was found not in death for sin, but in the use afterwards made of the/

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1. J. Macleod, THE NORMAL PLACE OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, pp. 19 - 20

/the blood thus shed in death. In all this process, it is to be kept steadily in view that the blood was the life. Even when shed, it did not cease to be so. It was indeed the life under a peculiar aspect, for it was life which had passed through that death which is the wages of sin. But it was still the life; and as life, not death, it was brought into fellowship with living God, and made one with Him." <sup>1.</sup>

By analogy with this interpretation of the Jewish atonement ritual, Milligan taught that "the thought of 'offering' on the part of our Lord is not to be confined to His sacrificial death: it is to be extended as to include in it a present and eternal offering to God of Himself in Heaven. What He offered on the Cross, what He offers now, is His life, a life unchangeable not only in its general character as life, but in the particular character given it by the experience through which it has passed." <sup>2.</sup>

The Westminster CONFESSIO<sup>N</sup> had spoken of the Lord's Supper as the "spiritual oblation of all possible praise unto God," <sup>3.</sup> but this new teaching went further, claiming that in the celebration of the Eucharist, the Church is sacramentally enacting on earth that which Christ is performing in Heaven - setting forth before God the only, never-to~~be~~-repeated Sacrifice for sin. Macleod repeatedly/

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1. W. Milligan, op. cit., pp. 131-2.

2. Ibid, p. 133.

3. WESTMINSTER CONFESSIO<sup>N</sup>, Chapter XXIX, 2.

/repeatedly insisted that the Lord's Supper is a commemoration not so much of what He did at Calvary, as of what He is doing

now, in Heaven.<sup>1.</sup> H. J. Wotherspoon claimed that every celebration was a "representing" by Christ of His Heavenly oblation, which in the Heavens is presented in His own Person.<sup>2.</sup>

"In the Heavenly places the Ascended Saviour, living unto God, presents Himself before the Father on our behalf, showing His death and pleading His accomplished Sacrifice. He is there the 'Lamb as it had been slain,' 'a propitiation for us.' In this Act we are now one with Him: He is the Head, we are the Body. What He does personally in the Upper Sanctuary, He in like manner does by our means on earth: uniting us to Himself by His Holy Spirit, and ministering also in and through us before God. We co-operate with Him in His Heavenly Priesthood, sacramentally enacting here in His Name, that which in the actuality is proper only to Himself."<sup>3.</sup>

H. J. Wotherspoon sought to remove some of the difficulties which have been seen in the suggestion that Christ in Heaven needs must remind the Father of His Sacrifice, and, as it were, plead with the Father's hesitation in accepting it, by explaining that Christ in His own Person constitutes the Altar and the Sacrifice.

"It is," he wrote, "still Himself in the continuance of that obedient/

1. J. Macleod, THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION AND THE DAILY SERVICE, p. 125.
2. H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, pp. 243-8.
3. H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, pp. 74-5.

/obedient life that Christ presents before the Father to be the Instrument and Medium of all the Father's redemptive will and all His hallowing and saving grace. He (not His Atonement: His atoning Sacrifice on the Cross was expiatory, and is accomplished and is the basis of all that follows), He in His own Person, and, so to speak, by His very presence, and presence with God is 'the propitiation for our sins.'" <sup>1.</sup>

"There is in Heaven or Earth no other altar, as in truth there is no other sacrifice than that which is upon it, and no other priest for men, but Christ." <sup>2.</sup>

"Christ is Himself the Altar, the Sacrifice, the Memorial, the Priest." <sup>3.</sup>

"The Eucharist is our co-operation with Christ in His Heavenly Ministry: or equally it is His co-operation with us in our approach to God." <sup>4.</sup>

In the Church of Scotland, the first part of the Communion Service had sometimes been viewed as a mere preliminary to the reception of Holy Communion, or as the preparation of spiritual food, or at the best, a solemn remembrance pf Calvary. Although Calvin himself had recognised that the Church ought to offer to God the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, the notes of oblation and/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, p. 238.  
 2. Ibid, pp. 240-1.  
 3. Ibid, p. 240.  
 4. Ibid, p. 241.

/and of joy had often been lacking in the first part of the service.

This teaching sought to correct these defects. In particular, it set out what was a fresh interpretation of the Lord's Supper within the Scottish Reformed and Presbyterian Church. This interpretation was based on the meaning of the word "anamnesis" as employed in Holy Scripture. This word was understood to mean not "remembering," but "re-calling or re-presenting" before God an event in the past, so that that event becomes here and now operative by its effect. It signifies not what reminds the worshipper, but what witnesses before God.<sup>1.</sup>

"When," preached Macleod at Govan in 1889, "we take that Bread and break it, and hold up that Cup, we know that in these two actions we are presenting to the eyes of our Father a memorial of the offering of our Lord in its unity - for the broken Bread is, in the eyes of the Father a memorial of that part of the Sacrifice finished on the Cross, and the Blood of the New Covenant in the Cup is, in the eyes of the Father, a memorial of that part of the Sacrifice of Christ that never ceases, the presence before the Throne of the Eternal, of Him who is as a Lamb slain, who was dead, but is alive for evermore."<sup>2.</sup>

This interpretation of the commemorative aspect of the Eucharist naturally/

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1. See H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, pp. 231-3;  
cf. Dom Gregory Dix, THE SHAPE OF THE LITURGY, p. 161.
  2. J. Macleod, THE GOSPEL IN THE HOLY COMMUNION, pp. 106-7.

/naturally dominated the theory of public worship which was taught by those who accepted it. "The Eucharist," they could say, "therefore embodies every part of worship, and is itself the specific worship which Christ has ordained."<sup>1.</sup>

"It is the distinctive and highest ordinance of Christian worship,"<sup>2.</sup> for in this Sacrament Christ "was consciously instituting, creating a bond of union between Himself in Heaven and us on earth until He comes again, and drinks the new wine of the Kingdom."<sup>3.</sup>

"The Bread and the Cup are "actual exhibition here on earth before God of the work that Jesus is personally fulfilling in Heaven."<sup>4.</sup>

"The Bread which has been blessed, declared to be the Body of Christ broken, and the Cup, of which Jesus says, 'This Cup is the New Covenant in My Blood' - before these are given and received - as you look at them sacramentally exhibited, not to us only, but unto God, are the memorial before God, which we can bring of our Jesus, of His Love, of His Work, of His Person, of His Mercies, of His Mediation, of His Intercession."<sup>5.</sup>

"Between us and the world the Eucharist is the proclamation of Christ's death: between us and God, within the Veil in the secret of His Presence, the Eucharist is the Remembrance, the Anamnesis,/"

1. H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, p. 77.
2. J. Macleod, op. cit., p. 64.
3. Ibid, p. 61.
4. Ibid, p. 4.
5. J. Macleod. op. cit., p. 63.

/Anamnesis, of all Christ was, is, and continueth to be. 'We have an altar,' wrote St. Paul, 'a type, not of the Cross of Calvary, but of the golden altar that is before the Throne in Heaven, where Christ stands, our High Priest, who liveth and was dead, and is alive for evermore!'"<sup>1.</sup>

For Macleod, the "Godward aspect" of the Eucharist - an oblation of worship wrought in sacramental unity with Christ and before the Father - was "the supreme aspect of the institution."<sup>2.</sup>

The Scottish people had been accustomed to refer to this Sacrament as "the Communion" or as "the Tables" or as "the preachings," thereby indicating that the chief aspect of the Sacrament was, in their experience, the reception of Divine Grace. Here they accepted at God's hand all that Christ had done for sinners as now applied to them personally. When they thought of doing something for God at this Sacrament, it took the form of sincere heart-searching, devout self-committal to Christ, and vows of new, or renewed, obedience. They did not think that here they were co-operating, or perhaps even could co-operate, with Christ in offering a sacrifice, in the sense of representing sacramentally here below what Christ was at the same time doing in Heaven. Of course, they were fully aware of Christ's Heavenly Intercession, but they did not link that in any special manner with/

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1. A. W. Wotherspoon, THE CUP OF LIFE, Transactions of the Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society, 1895, p. 119.
  2. J. Macleod, THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION AND THE DAILY SERVICE, p. 121.



/with the celebration of the Eucharist, for they understood that it was in virtue of that Intercession that all worship, nay, all prayer was offered at all. Worship they had associated with hearing the Word with the response of faith. This new teaching suggested that worship was a performance commanded by God, that in the faithful fulfilment of a prescribed rite lay the essential, regular, and normal mode of Christian worship, and that in the fulfilment of this rite the worshippers were united with the Ascended Christ in a manner not otherwise possible.

This teaching naturally could give its full approval only to public worship in which the celebration of the Lord's Supper was the regular act of Sunday worship, and not a "seal" to the Word which was celebrated only occasionally.

Although the leaders of the Scottish Church Society kept closely to the language of the Scots and Westminster CONFESSIONS OF FAITH in speaking of the gift received by worthy communicants at Holy Communion, they neither specifically declared their acceptance of Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's presence in the Sacrament, nor did they openly reject it. Realising the difficulties encountered by <sup>any</sup> theory which seeks to explain the mystery of Christ's Presence, they took refuge in the positive declarations of the reality of the presence of Christ's Body and Blood without defining too particularly the manner of their presence. Nor did they in any way pass beyond what the Church Standards taught in the matter, in/

/in copying the Tractarian doctrine of the Real Presence, or in asserting that Christ's Body and Blood were in the Bread and Wine. For them Christ's Presence was in the rite, rather than in the elements.

H. J. Wotherspoon, indeed, taught that our Communion with Christ is accomplished by the worshippers and the rite being translated to the realm of the Heavenly.<sup>1.</sup>

Frequency of celebration was urged because the Eucharist was held to be "the highest means of grace." In the first part of the service, Christ is the Mediator of our worship towards the Father, in the second part He appears as the Mediator of the mercies of God to us.<sup>2.</sup>

The fullest statement on the gift received at Holy Communion is found in the writings of the Wotherspoon brothers.<sup>3.</sup> The Body of Christ is defined as "that body which God prepared for Him, the 'flesh and blood' of our common humanity: which for our sakes He sanctified through obedience unto death: through the offering of which, once for all, we are sanctified: in the resurrection power of which our mortal bodies are quickened for their rising. The Blood of Christ is 'His life won through Death': His life as risen and glorified, the life human yet Divine, from earth, yet/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 283.
  2. cf. H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., pp. 77 - 78; J. Macleod, THE HOLY COMMUNION AND THE DAILY SERVICE, pp. 118 - 119.
  3. See A. W. Wotherspoon, op. cit.;  
H. J. Wotherspoon in THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT;  
H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS.

/yet Heavenly, once dead now alive for evermore. In the Communion of the Body of Christ, we crucify the flesh with its affections and lusts: we are dead with Christ, we are dead indeed unto sin that we may live unto God... we are so knit to the Body of His glory that these bodies of our humiliation will, even in death, be 'still united unto Christ' and will rest in their graves as those who sleep to wake 'when the morning appeareth.'

In the Communion of the Blood of Christ, we are 'quickened together with Christ,' and raised up together, and made to sit together in the heavenlies in Christ Jesus... the spirit of life in Christ Jesus makes us free from the dominion of sin and death: and as children of the resurrection and citizens of Heaven, with our life hid with Christ in God, we set our affections on things above, where Christ sitteth at God's right Hand."<sup>1.</sup>

As Holy Baptism is the Sacrament of Justification, so Holy Communion is the Sacrament of Sanctification. "As," concludes A. W. Wotherspoon, "man is twofold - half animal, half spiritual - an incarnation like his Lord, so the Sacrament of Sanctification is twofold. We eat Christ's Body for the cleaning of our sinful flesh; we drink Christ's Blood for the purifying of our soul. This is the Communion of His Divine Nature, and that of His Humanity."<sup>2.</sup>

There is, it was taught, a Presence of Christ peculiar to this Sacrament.<sup>3.</sup> The celebration of this Sacrament was said to involve "Christ/

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1. A. W. Wotherspoon, op. cit., pp. 126-7.

2. A. W. Wotherspoon, op. cit., p. 127.

3. H. J. Wotherspoon in THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, p. 143.

/"Christ as engaged in the very central moments of His mediation. It unveils Him in the essential acts which define the present ends of the Incarnation - His Intercession, His Benediction, His presentation of Himself before the Father in 'the merit of His obedience and sacrifice' (LARGER CATECHISM, Question 55); procuring for His members and bestowing upon them pardon, access and grace, and 'infusing into them' (to use Calvin's constant phrase) His own glorified life. It is an official and defined Presence in the plenitude of His supreme mission and efficiency." <sup>1.</sup>

Christ's Presence is not attached "specifically to the Elements, unless in so far as they are essential to its action, but rather a Presence assuming to itself both worshippers and elements for the instrumentality of its purpose - a Presence in the Sacrament, rather than in this or that of its apparatus, and for the ends of the Sacrament, which at no stage of its progress can be attained by any other ministration than that of Christ Himself: a Presence wholly spiritual, in the sense that it is constituted in the efficiency of the Holy Ghost, in whose fulness the mediating Humanity of our Lord is endowed with what Calvin calls the miraculous power to adopt our fellowship for the sphere of His personal action, and our gifts to supply the form for His fulfilment here of that Ministry which in His proper Person He fulfils on high - but which, inasmuch as it is thus spiritual, is neither figurative, nor metaphysical, nor imaginary, nor a subjective condition/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon, in THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, p. 142.

/condition in ourselves, but is objective and real: the active and conscious and personal Presence of Christ - who by the Holy Ghost extends volition and consciousness to the sacramental synaxis, as the brain extends them to the farthest member of the body."<sup>1.</sup>

The words of delivery at Holy Communion, as prescribed by the Westminster DIRECTORY, were praised, because they assert so unequivocally the reality of the presence of Christ's Body and Blood, without attempting to define the mode of their presence.<sup>2.</sup>

The importance of the Epiclesis was stressed as being a constant reminder that it is only by the operation of the Holy Spirit that the Bread and Wine are to the faithful the Communion of Christ's Body and Blood, and as a safeguard against Trans-  
substantiation and the identification of Christ with either of the Elements.<sup>3.</sup>

The consecration, it was held, does not affect Christ's Presence. He, the only Author and Minister of the Sacrament, is present throughout the entire Sacrament.<sup>4.</sup> The whole action is the Sacrament. Therefore one cannot speak of the reserved, consecrated Elements as "the Blessed Sacrament."<sup>5.</sup>

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1. Ibid, p. 153.

2. Ibid, p. 154;

H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, p. 282.

3. H. J. Wotherspoon in THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, p. 159;

H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, pp. 274-5.

4. H. J. Wotherspoon in THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, p. 144.

5. cf. H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, pp. 284-90.

The teaching shared Calvin's refusal to believe in the localisation of Christ's Presence. Like Calvin, it spoke of the worshippers being lifted up to meet Christ, rather than of His being called down to the Holy Table.

"The whole transaction of the Sacrament takes place, not as an episode of earthly event, but on the plane of our Lord's present existence: it is among the 'epourania,' the Heavenlies, in which the conditions of our fleshly existence do not apply, and all is as Christ sees it, and as Christ wills. It is not the Elements - it is we and the whole action and the Elements in the setting of that action which are taken into the atmosphere of the supernal."<sup>1</sup>

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1. Ibid, p. 283.

e. Catholic and Evangelical Doctrine: Its Bearing on Public  
Worship and Christian Re-union

The Scottish Church Society by its eucharistic theology influenced the Church of Scotland's understanding of the nature of public worship. Its teaching on the unity of the earthly commemoration with Christ's Heavenly Sacrifice did not find wide acceptance, but there was a growing willingness to admit that the Eucharist ought to be celebrated weekly as the main Sunday service. But very little progress was made, or even attempted, in this direction. The main result was that public worship was viewed by those who concerned themselves seriously with its nature, more objectively, and less subjectively. It was seen as an offering made to God, rather than primarily as an occasion for receiving from the treasury of Divine grace.

Of course, these two aspects had always been present (and must always be present) in the worship of the Reformed Scottish Church, but the balance was being altered. The Church did not look upon worship as a command performance - the offering of the Eucharist as the prescribed, and only fully acceptable mode of worship, as Macleod taught - but there was a definite movement away from that spirit which spoke of the first part of the Divine Service as "the preliminaries," and described attendance at worship as "going to hear the Rev. Mr. 'X'." Public worship was held/

/held to be an act whereby, by the grace of God, devout worshippers set forth the glory of God by their prayer, praise and self-oblation.

By reminding the Church of the reality of "ingrafting" at Holy Baptism the movement added to the spiritual solemnity of the administration of the rite, especially when, as was becoming more common, the Sacrament was celebrated in Church and in a dignified and appropriate setting. For many, the Sacrament was changed from being a mere pledge of Christian up-bringing on the part of sponsors, to an act of Divine Grace, so that, recalling their own Baptism in infancy, they dated the beginning of their experience of the Holy Spirit and their membership of the Church from that hour. This also had its influence on public worship. Worshipers could look upon themselves as a race apart, chosen by God as His people, set apart as a priesthood to offer the sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving by reason of their incorporation in the Church by Holy Baptism. This was especially important in the instruction of the young in doctrine and in worship. Holy Baptism was seen to be the basis of all such instruction. Children were not to be counselled "to love and follow Jesus"; they were to grow in obedience and love to the Lord to whom they already belonged, and to take their share in the life of His Body into which they had been incorporated by Holy Baptism.

The Scottish Church Society also influenced the revival of public/



/public worship by other aspects of their doctrinal teaching, notably by their teaching on the Ministry, the Church, Christian re-union, and the relationship of the Church of Scotland at the present time to its Subordinate Standards.

It is necessary to examine some of this teaching in some detail.

Cooper defined his view of the Ministry in distinction from that of Professor Charteris, saying "Professor Charteris... does not believe in succession; Ministers are the delegates and representatives of the people, from whom and not from Christ they receive authority. I could not hold this view. He says our Church books are inconsistent with themselves on the Subject."<sup>1</sup> He could go as far as to say, "There are, in point of fact, only two differences between the Church of Scotland and the Church of England: (1) the former regarding bishop and presbyter as of the same order, differentiated rather by ecclesiastical custom than by Divine law; and (2) that the appointment of the Moderator or President of the Presbytery is for six months instead of for life."<sup>2</sup>

These two quotations point to the two leading ideas of this society's teaching on the Ministry - Apostolic Succession and the belief that the episcopate grew out of the presbyterate, which alone enjoys the authority of Divine appointment. The Ministry was, of course, Christ's gift to the Church. It was not a matter of ecclesiastical convenience. The Society sought to remind the Church of Scotland that, not only the order of Presbyter, but also the manner of admission to it were alike of Divine appointment.

Thus Sprott said "...to depart from His appointments involves not only disobedience and confusion, but loss of grace. Some years ago, there was the greatest danger of the principle being established that men not ordained by Bishop or Presbyter should be/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon, JAMES COOPER: A MEMOIR, p. 90.

2. Ibid, p. 29.

/be allowed to minister in this Church, and but for that danger,  
 this society might never have been formed."<sup>1.</sup>

Sprott condemned as heretical the statement of the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance that "ordination to the Ministry is simply a formal mode of declaring by a number of known individuals that in their judgement a certain unknown person possesses the qualifications needful for the position... every individual ordained has the liberty of withdrawing from the duties of the Ministry whenever he desires, and of engaging in some other work."<sup>2.</sup>

The Scottish Church Society stressed the necessity of valid ordination, which was ordination to the Ministry, not of the Church of Scotland, but to that of the Catholic and Apostolic Church. They claimed that the Church of Scotland had "an unbroken line of ministerial succession."<sup>3.</sup> In stressing this fact of succession, they had very much in view the hope of an early re-union with the Church of England.

Succession they defined as follows: "We do not believe in a perpetuated succession of Apostles, or of persons holding the total authority of Apostles, but we maintain that the only ordinary perpetuation of the Ministry is by succession, that succession is by transmission of office, and that the only lawful, ordinary source of this transmission is with the Apostles. The centre of the only lawful/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1895-6, Presidential Address.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1895-6, Presidential Address.
  3. S. C. S. Report, 1908-9, Presidential Address.

/lawful system of Orders is commission emanating from the Apostles. Every distinguished scholar has made the pronouncement: 'This Church still retains its creative power, and can adapt its inherited rule to the conditions of the present day.' Well, I must say that I think that the Church does possess, within limits, at any rate, adaptive power, and that the distribution of the functions of the Christian Ministry between Bishops and Presbyters is a legitimate instance of its exercise. But I am unable to believe that the Church has creative power in Ordinances; it has not 'all authority under heaven and in earth.' If Ordination be a 'means of grace,' it cannot be an ordinance 'created' by the Church. I sometimes wonder how much misconception of the Church's position has been caused by one inaccurate reading: 'Thou hast made us unto our God, kings and priests,' says the Authorised Version, suggesting some degree of sovereignty over sacred things. The accurate text and translation is, not 'kings,' but 'a kingdom and priests,' The inference is not wide-ranging power and sovereignty, but subjection: not legislation, but faithful administration and stewardship.<sup>1</sup>

"The Ministry," it was stated, "is an office not to be taken by any man upon himself, nor conferred by the mere choice of the people, but is derived from Christ Himself through the operation of His Spirit and by the act of those who have already received it... therefore the Church... cannot receive any to her Ministry without the/

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1. J. M. Kirkpatrick, S. C. S. Report, 1929-30, p. 20.

/the proper laying on of hands; she must, in entering into union with other branches of the Church, seek for an adequate security for its continuance; and she must regard it as a Divine Ordinance and a sacred trust." <sup>1.</sup>

Exception was taken to the terms "preaching Presbyters" or "teaching Elders" as being in danger of suggesting that the Ministry and the Eldership are differentiated only by function, and not in origin and office. The "lay Eldership" does not derive from ~~the~~ <sup>2.</sup> presbyterate. The office has no institution in Holy Scripture.

As the union between the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church approached, the society made every effort to secure that in the Basis and Plan of Union Elders, as laymen, would be excluded from the laying on of hands by the Presbyters at Ordination. <sup>3.</sup> Protests were made regarding ~~the~~ proposed constitution and functions of the Church courts in the re-united Church, with a view to safeguarding the spiritual authority of the clergy and drawing a distinction between parish Ministers and other commissioners <sup>4.</sup> to Church courts.

For this group of churchmen the Ministry is an essential and perpetual ordinance in the Church. It is "the first depository" of the keys of the kingdom.

"In planting the Church where it has not yet existed, the presence/

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1. W. A. Knowles, THE LIMITATION OF THE POWERS OF THE CHURCH IN REGARD TO ORDINANCE, pp. 9 - 10.

2. See S. C. S.: NOTES ON THE BASIS AND PLAN OF UNION, p. 20; H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, pp. 176 - 178.

3. See S. C. S. : NOTES ON THE BASIS AND PLAN OF UNION, pp. 20-21.

4. Ibid, pp. 1 - 15.

/presence of the Ministry is by itself sufficient: it carries with it, not only the Word to convert, but also Baptism to engraft, the Eucharist to nourish, government to set in order, discipline to guard, and the apostolic succession to provide a future Ministry." <sup>1.</sup>

Ordination is not merely the Church's recognition that the God has called and equipped a man for the office, and now the Church, in the name of Christ, ~~commiss-ion~~ commissions him to the office. Ordination confers grace. Thus Thomas Leishman quoted Andrew Bonar with approval, when he wrote of his own Ordination as follows: "a day whereon I shall receive grace and apostleship... I consider that the laying on of hands is a sort of relic of the gifts of the Holy Ghost; it does as really convey grace as their hands on anyone gave the gifts of the Spirit." <sup>2.</sup>

The Church was reminded that the "one-sided, popular view" of the Ministry was erroneous. This, it was claimed, saw preaching too exclusively as the function of the Ministry, whose work also included intercession, benediction, government, and the administration of the Sacraments. <sup>3.</sup>

This high doctrine of the Ministry naturally added dignity, solemnity, authority to the ministerial conduct of public worship. In the light of this teaching, congregations were encouraged to look upon their minister, not merely as a gifted, spiritually-minded man, whom, under God, they had chosen as the pastor of their souls/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 145.  
 2. S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, p.15; 3. See THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT, pp. 172-3.

/souls, and upon whose ministrations they, of their own free choice, waited faithfully. He was seen more clearly to be the deputy and representative of Christ, who exercised ministerial functions in His Name and by His authority. The Divine element in the ministerial conduct of public worship was emphasised, where only too often the human element - the qualities of the individual Minister - had predominated. The Minister (however gifted and beloved) was seen as only one link in the long chain of ministerial succession. The whole power of his conduct of worship lay in his ordination to a sacred office in the Church of God. Where it was accepted, for example in Govan Parish Church, and in the daughter churches of St. Bride, St. Kenneth and St. Margaret, the teaching fostered dignity and quiet devotion in public worship. It gave fresh significance to ministerial acts other than preaching. It expelled from preaching that type of oratory which tended to obscure the worshippers' vision of Christ by a parade of the histrionic, literary, academic, or "popular" gifts of the preacher.

This teaching on the Ministry advanced the cause of more formal, objective public worship. Worship was understood to be a Divinely appointed and assisted action, in which a transaction took place, which could not otherwise be transacted.

It also contributed to the effort to minimise the difference between/

/between the public worship of the Church of Scotland and that of the Church of England.

Even before the formation of the Scottish Church Society in 1892, those who were later to become its leaders, manifested their concern over the sin of schism. They occupied themselves with the problems of re-union, not merely at a national level, but on broad Catholic lines.

These men spoke of schism as sin at a time when in Scotland the majority of churchmen did not see their ecclesiastical divisions in that light. They looked beyond Scotland to other National Churches with the hope of closer unity in their minds, at a time when in Scotland most churchmen were pre-occupied with healing the divisions within Presbyterianism.

This concern over schism, this search for re-union on Catholic lines became a prominent part of the witness of the Scottish Church Society until 1929.

Cooper was the leader in this matter. Re-union was the dominant interest in his life. All his interests in liturgical, doctrinal, and ecclesiological affairs were brought to its service. He was in his time "chief liaison officer" between the Church of Scotland and the Church of England.

This group of churchmen consistently and persistently until 1929 showed a double attitude to the question of re-union. They refused to be side-tracked from the major issue of the re-union of the Catholic Church by any local Church union or unions in Scotland./



/Scotland. They sought unwearyingly closer relations between the National Churches of Scotland and England.

These two attitudes affected the revival of worship in the Church of Scotland. They gave weight to the doctrine of the Church which we have already noted,<sup>1.</sup> and to the supreme importance placed upon the Sacraments. They further emphasised the teaching that the form of public worship should be a confession of faith, and that liturgy and doctrine are inseparably connected. They were complementary to the opinions expressed~~d~~ regarding the orthodox, Catholic Faith, as set forth in the historic Creeds, and the necessity for a valid Ordination to the Holy Ministry.

During the period 1870-1929 the leaders of the Scottish Church Society were extraordinarily optimistic as to the possibility of union between the Church of Scotland and the Church of England. They were equally suspicious of local Presbyterian re-unions in Scotland.

In the question of re-union with Anglicanism, the Anglican bias, which is traceable throughout the whole revival of worship, was very evident. A. K. H. Boyd, the close friend of Bishop Wordsworth of St. Andrews, the protagonist of re-union with the Established Church from the Scottish Episcopal side, let it be known that it was ~~the~~ only the establishment which kept him in the Church of Scotland.<sup>2.</sup> /

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1. See Section 10, b.

2. "Church Times," 4. 11. 1892.

/Scotland. Milligan, who was looked on as the spiritual father of the Scottish Church Society, believed that closer relations between the two National Churches were both desirable and possible. As early as 1883 he deprecated the work of the Pan-Presbyterian Alliance in seeking a union which would exclude the Scottish Episcopal Church. He wrote that the landed proprietors "have as good a right to be Episcopalian, as their tenants and cottars have to be Presbyterian. The cry 'Scotland for Presbyterianism' is to my mind, one without a principle to rest on." <sup>1.</sup>

Milligan himself was drawn into close contact with the Anglicans in his work ~~on~~ for the Revised Version of the Bible. <sup>2.</sup>

His Moderator's Address of 1882 was an earnest appeal for unity, as had been that of Dr. Bisset in 1862. We are told that "Principal Tulloch... would gladly have seen Episcopacy introduced as a practical improvement into his own communion, though not seeing his way clearly as to the manner." <sup>3.</sup>

As far back as 1870 Cooper had seen at Rome a vision of Catholic unity which remained an inspiration to him all his life. <sup>4.</sup> He had to pass through a mental conflict as to the validity of Presbyterian ~~am~~ Orders. <sup>5.</sup> Stamped with something of the old Episcopacy of the North-East of Scotland, he felt that the Revolution Settlement had been unjust/

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1. "Catholic Presbyterian," Sept. 1883.
  2. J. F. Leishman, op. cit., p. 141.
  3. J. Wordsworth, THE EPISCOPATE OF CHARLES WORDSWORTH, p. 154. —
  4. H. J. Wothérspoon, JAMES COOPER: A MEMOIR, pp. 79 - 80.
  5. Ibid, pp. 105 - 106.

/unjust to the Episcopalians, who represented a ~~true~~ true part of the National Church. He often remarked that there were many who were Episcopalians at heart, but who remained in the Church of Scotland because it was the National Church.<sup>1.</sup>

Typical of this kind of utterance is a sermon which Cooper preached in 1895: "But for the unconstitutional invasion - with the best intentions - of our Church's liberties in 1637 by Laud and his Royal Master - who also was to die a martyr - all the Reformed in Scotland might have been in one Church today, with a fair service, and reasonable observances and a form of church government combining the advantages of Presbytery and Episcopacy."<sup>2.</sup>

Sprott was inspired by a vision of one Church for the whole British Empire, which would unite Presbytery and Episcopacy in one British Church.<sup>3.</sup> He spoke out of the fulness of his experience as a Minister in the colonies.

While denying that the office of Bishop is a separate order, created by Divine appointment, he argued that even if it were, the Church of England had no valid claim to the possession of it. He hoped that the Church of England would return to her former attitude to the Scottish Church and recognise the validity of her orders.<sup>4.</sup> He believed that "the difference between an enlightened Episcopalian and an enlightened Presbyterian is so slight that we may well be a member/

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1. See S. C. S. Report, 1894-5, pp. 19 - 20.
  2. J. Cooper, SERMON PREACHED AT THE RE-OPENING OF THE WEST CHURCH, PERTH, 19. 1. 1895.
  3. See G. W. Sprott, Presidential Address, S. C. S. Report, 1906-7; S. C. S. Report, 1895-6; S. C. S. Report, 1900-1.
  4. S. C. S. Reports, 1895-6; 1900-01.

/member of both National Churches like our late Queen... meantime we should let our bugles sound truce and gradually approximate by borrowing what is good from each other."<sup>1.</sup>

When it is recalled that Cooper and Sprott played leading parts in the revival of worship in the Church of Scotland, the effect of their attitude to Episcopacy upon worship will be appreciated. The nearer the approximation to the same form of worship in both Churches came, the nearer came also the reality of re-union.

Cooper's admirers contended that his frequent visits to dignitaries of the English Church created a fresh interest in the Church of Scotland within the Church of England.<sup>2.</sup> Hostile critics contended that he misled the Anglicans as to the willingness of the Church of Scotland to accept Bishops for the sake of re-union, and as to the influence of the Scottish Church Society within the Scottish Church. He never really carried the General Assembly with him in the belief that re-union with Anglicanism was as easy as it was desirable. Cooper's failure to have the Scottish Episcopal Church included in the conferring bodies when the movement for the re-union of the Church of Scotland and the United Free Church finally took shape indicated the true feeling of Presbyterian Scotland at the time.<sup>3.</sup>

Also the Church Unity Association which was started early in this century with a view to uniting Anglicans and Presbyterians ended in failure.<sup>4.</sup>

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1900-01, p. 29.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1908-9, p. 26f.  
S. C. S. Report, 1917-18, pp. 20 and 22.
  3. See H. J. Wotherspoon, op. cit., pp. 244 - 248.
  4. See HISTORICAL PAPERS SUBMITTED TO THE CHRISTIAN UNITY ASSOCIATION

Nevertheless, the Scottish Church Society took itself very seriously in its negotiations with the Church of England. It was considered a matter of great importance when the Society received a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, however trifling its contents.<sup>1.</sup> Sprott was bold enough to claim that the society had changed the whole attitude of Anglicans to the Church of Scotland.<sup>2.</sup>

But there were discerning critics on the Anglican side. The Scottish Church Society was most displeased with Canon Henson's verdict on them, when he described them as "a small, unrepresentative group... a small coterie of enthusiasts... insignificant in number... lukewarm Presbyterians."<sup>3.</sup>

On the other side, Bishop Wordsworth was ostracised by the other Scottish Bishops on account of his fraternising with the Church of Scotland.<sup>4.</sup>

This interest in re-union expressed itself in a distrust of ill-considered proposals for re-union between the Established and Dissenting Presbyterian Churches of Scotland. A gulf was felt to separate the Church of Scotland as she ought to be from the Dissent as it was. The Disruption was seen as a national, spiritual tragedy, inexcusable even on the most generous interpretation. Willingness on the part of some Presbyterians to admit applicants for admission to the Ministry without re-ordination in certain cases was felt to mark/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1911-12, p. 24.
  2. S. C. S. Report, 1908 - 9, pp. 28 - 29.
  3. S. C. S. Report, 1908 - 9. pp. 34 - 35.
  4. J. Wordsworth, op. cit., p. 246.

/mark a deep division between some Dissenters and the Established Church.<sup>1.</sup> While the union of 1900 was welcomed, it was pointed out that the uniting Churches would have done better to have re-entered the Church of Scotland.<sup>2.</sup>

From the time of the Disestablishment campaign to the union of 1929 this society constantly preached state recognition of religion as an article of faith, and sought to resist the secularisation of any of the Church's patrimony. As the preparations for the union of 1929 proceeded, they emphasised the spiritual authority of the parish minister as distinguished from the function of the Kirk Session. The important responsibilities of Presbyteries and Synods were underlined in an effort to avoid over-centralisation of administration of Church affairs in Edinburgh.

An unfortunate tendency in Scottish Dissent was discerned whereby in polity and worship they seemed ever to draw nearer to independency.<sup>3.</sup>

The society stood by the principle that doctrinal agreement must precede, rather than issue from, re-union. In 1924 H. J. Wotherspoon recorded his objection to the action of the United Free Church in addressing itself to a revision of the Westminster CONFESSION OF FAITH apart from the Established Church, while the two Churches were in conference regarding union. "I am afraid," he commented, "that we must recognise that the present fervour/

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1. S. C. S. Reports, 1900 - 1 - 2.  
 2. S. C. S. Report, 1900-01.  
 3. S. C. S. Reports, 1900-01, 1908-9.

/fervour for unity and the impetus to effect unions have their danger. In the old days of clearly defined denominations, each with its 'distinctive principle,' doctrine was delimited and practice was emphasised. Men at least knew where they stood. Coalescence of denominations may, on the other hand, be sought through obliteration of doctrinal outline and compromise of divergent practice, with the result of indifference to both. The fusion of denominations may be reached through the depreciation of institutional religion. Our last state may be worse than our first." <sup>1.</sup>

In particular, the society insisted that no local union must be achieved at the sacrifice of any Catholic principles which later might preclude the possibility of wider union. <sup>2.</sup> The Catholic Faith was recognised to be more fundamental than the principle of establishment. The proposed constitution of the united Church was criticised because it did not explicitly confess faith in the Trinity. <sup>3.</sup> The Church of Scotland could not consider herself a branch of the Holy Catholic Church unless she defined the Catholic Faith as her faith. Doubt was expressed if all the parties to the union of 1929 realised "the full implications" of the claim made in Article I of the Declaratory Articles, and also if this claim <sup>4.</sup> was not contradicted by some of the succeeding Articles.

It was argued that the two great principles of Catholicity and/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1923-4, p. 18.  
 2. Ibid, p. 22.  
 3. S. C. S. Report, 1913-14, p. 18.  
 4. S. C. S. Report, 1925-6, p. 16.

/and spiritual freedom are safe only when they are concentric.

Once the Declaratory Act was made law, the hope was expressed that the freedom of the Church meant freedom from state interference, not freedom to alter the essentials of the Faith even in order to further union. To profess the Catholic Faith, and yet to demand liberty of conscience in essentials is not to profess it. The Catholic Church must profess ~~the~~ the essentials of the Faith unequivocally. Creed is Catholic, confessions are denominational. The best confessions embody the three Creeds verbatim. The Westminster CONFESSION does not, but offers a daring interpretation of the Catholic Faith from the viewpoint of a particular communion.<sup>1.</sup>

This attitude to the re-union of the Christian Church influenced the interpretation of public worship held by those who shared it, and through them, that held by others also, who did not always share it. It gave support to the plea for liturgical worship. It stressed the need for the Church to publish prescribed forms for the Sacraments, for Marriage, and for Ordination and Induction of Ministers, for the Admission of Elders, and for the Confirmation of Catechumens. It gave support to the view which thought that dogma should be fully expressed in the public devotions of the Church, that one of the Creeds should be recited at every Sunday Service, that in any published book of prayers, the Church should see to it that the prayers have a sound dogmatic flavour.

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1. See S. C. S.: THE CATHOLIC FAITH, 1926.



It fostered conservatism with regard to experiments in public worship. It conserved the Biblical and Catholic flavour of public devotion. It held in check the less fortunate influences which English Non-conformity and liberal theology might have exercised upon the worship of the Church of Scotland. It directed the later development of the revival of worship along Catholic lines. It justified what seemed to some critics to be bare-faced borrowings from the public worship of Anglicanism, by pointing out that these features were characteristic of the worship of the Catholic Church, and as such were as much part of the Scottish (neglected) heritage as of the English.

It kept steadily before the mind of the Church of Scotland the important part which the form of public worship must play in the Ecumenical Movement.

While they stressed full allegiance to the ancient Creeds of the Christian Church, the leaders of the Scottish Church Society also professed their loyalty to the SCOTS and Westminster CONFESSIONS. They always insisted that their doctrinal and liturgical views were based on the Confessional Standards of the Church of Scotland. They resisted all efforts to tamper with the teaching of the Standards on all "fundamental" matters of faith, partly, one suspects, not because they were thorough-going Calvinists, but because the high sacramental doctrine, and the doctrine of the Church and the Ministry, contained in these documents, were agreeable to the/

/the Catholic standpoint which they wished to assume.

Thus they asserted their confidence that the Scottish Standards could be fastened on to the ancient Creeds without contradicting them;<sup>1.</sup> that the teaching ~~of~~ on the Sacraments in the Westminster CONFESSION was higher than that of the THIRTY NINE ARTICLES;<sup>2.</sup> that the doctrine of the former was more of one accord than that of the latter, except in some secondary points in which the Scots accepted the work of the Westminster Divines.<sup>3.</sup>

They denied that they put a different interpretation on these Scottish Standards ~~than~~<sup>from</sup> did those who drew them up. Whenever the question of a relaxed formula of subscription to the Standards was raised, they stressed that the formula must always be so phrased as to ensure the fundamental truth of the confession~~m~~ rather than to guarantee to the signee liberty to reject whatever of its contents he thought fit.<sup>4.</sup>

They would have liked the new formula of subscription to bind all Ministers to the acceptance of the Nicene Creed, but did not wish every detail of the CONFESSION to be made binding on all Ministers.<sup>5.</sup>

Cooper held that the history of English Presbyterianism was ample proof of the peril which might threaten the Church, if she did not explicitly confess the doctrine of the ancient Creeds.<sup>6.</sup>

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1893-4, p. 14.
  2. Ibid.
  3. Remarks by Dr. Leishman, S. C. S. Report, 1898-9.
  4. S. C. S. Report, 1903-4, Secretary's Report.
  5. S. C. S. Report, 1904-5, p. 23.
  6. S. C. S. Report, 1906-7, Presidential Address.

"You do not," he said, "recommend the Church of Scotland (at least to religious minds) if you base its claim on patriotic rather than spiritual grounds, if you dwell more on its embodying the genius of the Scottish people than on its being (amid whatever shortcomings) the National branch of the Catholic Church of Christ, if you treat it as the creation of Knox or Melville, and not as the genuine heir ~~to~~ of St. Columba and St. Ninian. It was that view of the Kirk that alienated Scott. Depend upon it, it is not a belated Whiggery; it is not a perpetual girding at the Ancient Creeds, it is not a belittling of the Ministry and Sacraments of the Church, as if Christ were not in them, as if the ordinances of the Spirit were against the Spirit, that will win once more 'the dew of our youth' to 'offer themselves willingly in the beauties of holiness' for His blissful service."<sup>1.</sup>

It was pointed out that "what should render one more anxious at this time for the adoption of a precise formula is the absence of appointed liturgical forms in the Church of Scotland, for it should be remembered that a Church without a prescribed Liturgy is more dependent on a definite Creed than one in which specified forms of worship, are in use."<sup>2.</sup>

H. J. Wotherspoon held that any revision of the Westminster CONFESSION should be merely textual.<sup>3.</sup> However, the society recognised that that document was not in the same category as the ancient Creeds.<sup>4.</sup> The real reason for urging the observance of the Christian/

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1. S. C. S. Report, 1899-1900, p. 17.

2. S. C. S. Report, 1906-7. Presidential Address.

3. S. C. S. Report, 1923-4, p. 13; 4S.C.S. Report, 1930-31. p. 19.

/Christian Year was that full instruction in the whole Christian Faith might be ensured year by year,<sup>1.</sup> just as an "entirely non-liturgical service enables a Minister who feels so inclined to steer clear of all the essential truth of the Christian religion."<sup>2.</sup>

By setting the doctrine and worship of the Church of Scotland against Catholic faith and practice, this society challenged that narrow, complacent, provincial outlook which too often in the past had rested content with the less worthy features of public worship, counting them typically "Scottish" and truly "Presbyterian." It reminded the Church of Scotland of the nature of the Sacramental teaching of her own Standards, at a time when sacramentarian views were not uncommon.

Above all, in a time of Doubt and denial, it stood for the fundamental truths of the Gospel as they are embodied in the Church's Standards.

This meant that in public worship and in popular preaching, all attempts on the part of the clergy to "modernise" the Scriptures, to be selective in accepting the miracles, the Virgin Birth, or the Resurrection, for example, or to introduce into worship prayer and praise which were too much concerned with how the worshippers felt, and too little with the great events of the Divine Revelation in Jesus Christ, were deprecated.

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1. Ibid, p. 17.

2. Ibid, p. 18.

f. Some Practical Considerations

In certain practical matters the Scottish Church Society influenced the public worship of the Church of Scotland.

One item of the society's programme was the encouragement of parochial, special missions on "Church lines." This activity, besides stimulating the spiritual life of congregations, provided a sound corrective to the evangelistic work so extensively undertaken at the time by various bodies outwith the Church of Scotland in various "mission halls" and "tent meetings." It also helped in some districts to bring the Church into touch with the poorer and less well-educated classes.

The SCOTTISH MISSION HYMNBOOK which the Church published was influenced by the churchmanship of the Scottish Church Society. It provides an excellent indication of their interpretation of the Church's evangelistic work. It is a singular instance of the combination of orthodoxy of belief, catholicity of practice, and evangelical fervour. It is perhaps the best example of the combination of Catholic and Evangelical Christianity within the Church of Scotland, and thus represents that emphasis, which it was the peculiar contribution of the Scottish Church Society to make to the revival of worship.

In its concern for the proper care of Church property, in its plea for reverence in the keeping of churchyards, and in its general concern/

/concern for the externals of worship, the society helped to establish reverence and dignity where they had often been conspicuously absent.

In one matter, which the society held to be a matter of fundamental importance - the introduction of the Individual Cup at Holy Communion - a vigorous protest was made, but not with much success.

Cooper took a leading part in the Assembly debates on this subject, finally dissenting, when the Assembly permitted their use. He believed that the use of the Individual Cup was contrary to the law of the Church (which was also the ruling given by the Procurator), but he did not go so far as to say that their use invalidated the Sacrament.<sup>1.</sup> The Assembly's decision in the matter was a weak one. It appeared to regret the introduction of this novel practice, yet it refused to enforce the law.

According to a paper read to the Scottish Church Society in 1912,<sup>2.</sup> the use of the Individual Cup is a more serious departure from the Institution than the with-holding of the Cup from the laity. It is argued that the New Testament emphasis is on the Cup, rather than on its contents, and profound significance is attached to this point.

"As the breaking of the Bread is the central action of the first/

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1. See H. J. Wotherspoon, JAMES COOPER: A MEMOIR, pp. 242 - 3.  
 2. W. A. Knowles, THE LIMITATIONS OF THE POWERS OF THE CHURCH IN REGARD TO ORDINANCE.

/first part of the Holy Institution, as holding up before us and before God the Breaking of our Saviour's Body on the Cross for our Salvation; so the Taking of the Cup is the central action in the second part of the Rite, as the Taking again of the Life which was once laid down. And as the giving of the Bread thus broken is the means of making us partakers of that Body which was broken for us, so the giving of the Cup thus taken is the token of the Divine gift of Life which the Living Lord bestows upon His own. Where there is no giving and receiving of the Cup, the sacramental action stops short of its true and intended meaning. It is by receiving it in faith as from the Saviour's hand that we are drawn into living union with Him, who in the Communion of the Cup calls into the Communion of His Risen Life. Moreover, there is deep significance in the Common Cup of the Holy Feast. As the Cup is the means of fellowship with the Risen Lord, so the Common Cup is the token of fellowship with one another. It is shared with our fellow-communicants as the pledge that we are all sharers in the life of Christ, all brethren in Christ Jesus, all members joined to the One Head. It matters not for this how many Cups may be used as a matter of convenience, so long as they are all blessed and all shared. But when each is provided with a cup for himself, the symbol is broken and destroyed. So the abolition of the Common Cup is a spoiling of the symbolism, but it is more: it is a deliberate departure from the Divine Institution of the Holy Eucharist. Any argument on the grounds of cleanliness or health/

/health, even if it could be made good, is utterly worthless to the devout disciple when set against the Word of his Lord." <sup>1.</sup>

The society's protest did not exclude the use of the Individual Cup, but it established a continuous opposition to its use within the Church. The idea of progress was a dominant one in the popular movement for reform of worship. Changes were readily made in the name of progress without due consideration of the significance of the change being made, once the Church had properly broken free from its former conservatism in all things relating to public worship. The practical, commonsense appeal to hygiene carried more weight than any mystical interpretation of the symbolism of the rite.

John Macleod, James Cooper and other members of this society asserted their right to pray for the dead, while not disclaiming their allegiance to the Church's Standards. As far as the development of worship is concerned, the chief result was that thanksgiving for the faithful departed was awarded a place in public prayer more regularly and more adequately. In few churches were actual prayers for the dead heard, nor was the Eucharist celebrated as a pleading of Christ's Sacrifice specially for the Dead.

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1. Ibid, pp. 5 - 6.



SECTION 11CHURCH DOCTRINE AND CHURCH WORSHIPa. The Church

The most careful statement on the nature of the Church which the new movement put forth is contained in Wotherspoon and Kirkpatrick's A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, pp. 1 - 19. This statement is a good summary, and is in some ways a corrective to more extravagant statements made elsewhere, particularly in THE PENTECOSTAL GIFT.

In stressing the Divine Nature and origin of the Church, and in asserting emphatically that the Word, the Ministry, and the Sacraments are all anterior to the Church, part of the "given-ness" of Revelation and not to be dispensed with or added to, this teaching was in the Reformed tradition and was making points which, in the theological and ecclesiastical climate of the time, required strong re-assertion. This teaching on the Church influenced public worship by adding to its dignity, solemnity and mystery. The minister in the pulpit was seen as Christ's representative, by whose preaching of the Word and administration of the Sacraments, God's grace was, according to the Divine plan, made operative within the Church, and available for sinners, for whom there is outwith/

/outwith the Church ordinarily no salvation. All this was true to the Calvinist tradition. Calvin himself had said of the Church: "out of her bosom there can be no hope of remission of sins, or any salvation... the paternal favour of God, and the peculiar testimony of the spiritual life, are all restricted to His flock, to teach us that it is always fatally dangerous to be separated from the Church."<sup>1</sup>

Within the Established Church, since the abolition of patronage, the popular election of Ministers along with the innovations in public worship fostered "sermon tasting," whetted an appetite for novelties, and fomented a tendency to assess the merit of a whole act of worship by purely human criteria. The new teaching wisely reminded its generation that one does not go to church as a member of a religious club, but to a Divine Community, to the Body of Christ, into whose membership one has been engrafted by an act of Divine grace at Baptism, or in order to be edified or interested, still less to be entertained, but to meet with the Living God in an encounter which cleanses and revivifies. Above all, this teaching was true to the Church's best tradition in claiming that Christ Himself ministers in Holy things in the midst of the Flock, so that it is with Him, not with His Ministers, that the worshippers are ultimately dealing. Some of those, who thus taught, exemplified the significance of their teaching signally by their restrained, devout/

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1. J. Calvin, INSTITUTES OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, vol. II, Book 4, Chapter 4.

/devout, and faithful pulpit ministrations, and by a self-effacing, Christo-centric type of ministry, e.g., H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick.

Another important contribution to the revival of worship was the interpretation put upon the doctrine of the Priesthood of All Believers. The Church was seen as a Society exercising in Christ's Name and by His Power, His Kingly, Priestly and Prophetic offices.<sup>1.</sup> The conception of Christian believers as a Priesthood offering worship to God, making the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, dedicating alms and first fruits to the Creator, and particularly as pleading before God, Christ's Death as they set before God the eucharistic Bread and Wine, brought new understanding to the theory of public worship in the Church of Scotland. The part of the worshippers had too long been that chiefly of hearing the Word devoutly, and of acknowledging before the Sovereign Will of God their sinful incapacity. Calvin had spoken of the believer's duty to offer the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving to God, but the conception of public worship<sup>3</sup> as an offering made to God, as an act of worship, had hardly been afforded adequate recognition for long enough.

While it acknowledged the distinction between the Visible and Invisible Churches, this teaching did not clearly state that only the Invisible Church can be called the Body of Christ. Rather it seemed to identify the Visible Church with the Body of Christ, even/

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1. See H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, pp. 7 - 12.

/even speaking of the Church as an extension of the Incarnation, in language typical of that heard in the second phase of the Oxford Movement. It never stated expressly its mind on that doctrine which underlies what Calvin has to say of the Church as the Body of Christ, and as the visible agency through which Christ continues His work for sinners - namely, the doctrine of Election.<sup>1.</sup>

If, as John Macleod seems to have believed, "Baptism is Election," then this full identification of the Visible Church with the Body of Christ is intelligible. No doubt Macleod was influenced by the Catholic Apostolic Church's teaching that "the Church is the election of mankind."<sup>2.</sup>

By suggesting that salvation is by Baptism into the redeemed and redemptive Society, the Church, and by the nourishment of Christ's Body and Blood received in Holy Communion, and by speaking without qualification of the Church as the Body of Christ, this teaching roused suspicions of a sacramental interpretation of Christianity, thought to be contradictory to the defined position of the Church of Scotland. It is however, true that this teaching was safeguarded by a recognition of the place of conversion in the life of the believer, and by the admission that the Church in her life, worship, and witness, must always test herself by the Word of/

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1. At one point, H. J. Wotherspoon hints at his rejection of the Calvinist interpretation of Election; See RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, p. 143.
  2. See P. E. Shaw. THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH, p. 165; cf. John Macleod, THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION AND THE DAILY SERVICE; S. C. S. Conferences, 1st Series, p. 115.

/of God. It was also recognised that neither Church nor Sacraments have any magical power resident in themselves, but that they are wholly dependent ~~en~~ upon Christ for their efficacy, who by the Holy Spirit, uses them for His redemptive work.

The tendency was, however, to make the most of the doctrine of the Church which is found in the Church's Standards, without facing up to the interpretation of Election found in these documents.

The Westminster CONFSSION says nothing of the Visible Church as the Body of Christ. It does not even limit the Visible Church to the Baptized, but only to those who "profess the true religion." Personal faith in Christ is the test of belonging to the Church Invisible, not participation in the Sacraments.

Unfortunately, this new teaching used terms, commonly used by different branches of the Church, but capable of a different significance among different denominations, without always clearly indicating in which sense these were being used.

b. The Ministry

The Scottish Church Society's teaching on the Ministry came as a salutary corrective and safeguard.

It reminded the Church of Scotland of her true position, doctrinally and historically, with regard to ministerial order, viz.: that the Ministry is a gift of Christ to His Church; that it is always to be continued in the Church, that the solemn setting apart or Ordination of Ministers is an act of great importance; that only those who have been thus ordained are to undertake the Ministry of Word and Sacrament within the Church; that the Ministers of the Reformed Church stand in a ministerial succession which reaches back to the Apostles. It did good work in insisting that the Presbyterate is the essential, fundamental Order in the Catholic Church, and in reminding Anglo-Catholics of the earlier Anglican attitude to Presbyterian Orders. It drew afresh the distinction between the Presbyterian theory of the Ministry, and that of the Roman Church on the one hand, and that of the Independents on the other.

The teaching, however, went further. It concerned itself very seriously with "valid" Ordination, and with the theory of "apostolic succession." Members of the Scottish Church Society were gravely exercised by current Anglican claims on these topics. Here also, as so frequently in the revival of worship in the Church of

/of Scotland, an "Anglican complex" was formed in the minds of those who wished to remain within the Church of Scotland, but wished that her historical position was not quite what it was. Accordingly, the new teaching did not re-state the Reformed teaching on the Ministry on broad, clear lines. It read the Standards with an Anglican bias. It sought to interpret them with a phraseology which could be made to mean something which they, and the history of Reformed teaching which lay behind them, did not quite mean to say. In particular, it set forth a theory of apostolic succession which implied a more formal, rigid theory of succession, than the Church of Scotland generally held, yet which was one which could never hope to satisfy the more advanced Anglican aspirations and claims.

This teaching did not frankly admit that in the Reformed Churches the real apostolic succession is one of doctrine. Ministers are the successors of the Apostles because they set forth the Apostles' teaching, like them testifying that Christ is Lord, rather than because they have been ordained by the laying on of hands in an "unbroken" succession descending from the Apostles themselves. Of the Apostles it has been truly written: "It is not their faith or their zeal or their religious genius or any special charismata they possessed, like the gift of the Spirit by the laying on of hands, and certainly not any accident/

/accident of historical association, but their testimony which constitutes them Apostles." <sup>1.</sup>

This is the key to the Reformed view of apostolic succession. "We," wrote Beza, "do require a succession of doctrine, not of persons, even of the prophetical and apostolical doctrine, so that of necessity we must run again to the books of the Prophets and Apostles for the proof of the true succession." <sup>2.</sup>

The new teaching spoke loosely of the "grace conferred" in Ordination. It wrote of the Ministry as carrying with it "not only the Word to convert but also Baptism to engraft, and the Eucharist to nourish, government to set in order, discipline to guard, and the apostolic succession to provide a future Ministry." <sup>3.</sup> Ordination, on the Roman view, confers an indelible character upon the Priest. On both the Roman and Anglo-Catholic view "apostolicity" is conferred upon the priestly acts of all who have been validly ordained. Calvin's ruling was that the imposition of hands at Ordination could expediently be omitted, at least temporarily, and the SCOTS CONFESSION's repudiation of "lineal descence," are indications of the rejection by the Reformed Church of the belief that grace is conferred in Ordination in any mechanical manner.

On the Reformed view, the Divine call to the Ministry is the fundamental guarantee that the necessary grace for the office will be/

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1. D. T. Jenkins, THE NATURE OF CATHOLICITY, pp. 24 - 25.  
 2. Beza, AN EXHORTATION TO THE REFORMATION OF THE CHURCH, quoted in J. L. Ainslie, THE DOCTRINE OF MINISTERIAL ORDER IN THE REFORMED CHURCHES OF THE 16th and 17th centuries, pp. 219-20; 3. H. J. Wotherspoon & J. Kirkpatrick, op. cit. pp. 14-15.



/be given, not the imposition of episcopal hands. Thus Calvin could write: "When men are called by God, gifts are necessarily connected with office. God does not confer on men the mere name of Apostle or Pastor, but also endows them with gifts, without which they cannot properly discharge their office. He whom God has appointed to be an apostle does not bear an empty and useless title; for the Divine command and ability to perform it go together."<sup>1.</sup>

Story rightly interpreted the reaction of the Reformers to the rigid theory of apostolic succession, when he wrote of the pre-Reformation Scottish clergy: "The enjoyment of near four centuries 'Catholic' apostolic succession had failed to sustain and invigorate their apostolic character. Never was their lineal descent from the source of Catholic unity and authority, in St. Peter, technically more impeachable, never was the boasted threefold Ministry more hopelessly unlike that of the Apostles."<sup>2.</sup> He recalled the earliest of all ordinations - that of Joshua by Moses - not that he might receive the Spirit, but because the Spirit was already in him.<sup>3.</sup>

At the Scottish Reformation the refusal to put Bishops and Priests in any special category in admitting them to the Ministry of the Reformed Church is evidence that the Scots held no narrow view of apostolic succession.<sup>4.</sup>

This new teaching under-estimated the place of the Divine call/

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1. J. Calvin, Commentaries, EPHESIANS, IV; 11.  
 2. R. H. Story, THE APOSTOLIC MINISTRY IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCH, pp. 205-6.  
 3. Ibid, p. 246; 4. cf. J. L. Ainslie, op. cit., p. 214.

/call in Ordination on the Reformed view of the rôte. It was, of course, at no little pains to resist any suggestion that the Ministry derived from the people. It showed a bias against popular election of ministers, and saw the abolition of patronage with

1. misgivings. On the Reformed view the secret call from God to minister was a sine qua non, but the public call from a congregation of believers was also an essential part of Ordination. 2. The

Reformers' unwillingness to ordain, unless to a vacant pastorate is well known, although Ordination was always to ~~be~~ the Ministry of the Catholic Church, not to that of a local, congregational ministry. In speaking of the various functions exercised by the Ministry, this teaching obscured the fact that the Reformed view is that preaching is the essential ministerial function. Only preachers of the Word were to administer the Sacraments, for both Ministry and Sacrament can never be dissociated from the Word, ~~and~~ beneath whose krisis the Church and the Ministry must ever stand. 87

On the Roman and Anglo-Catholic view the fundamental function of the Ministry is to offer the Sacrifice of the Mass. The Reformation rejected the conception of the Ministry as a Priesthood. Its spirit is nowhere more clearly seen than in its subjection of the Sacraments to the Word. The new teaching on the Ministry rather/ 87

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1. See T. Leishman, ORDINATION: RECENT DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE, in The Pentecostal Gift, p. 213.
  2. cf. FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE, IV.

/rather obscured the fact that preaching is the fundamental function of the Reformed Ministry, and that the Sacraments are seals and signs attached to the Word.

Of course, H. J. Wotherspoon and others admitted that the Standards were capable of a very different interpretation from the one which they now put forward. They pled, however, that their interpretation represented views which were held by Scottish representatives at the Westminster Assembly, and that the Westminster Standards do not represent "the full Presbyterian position at the golden period of Presbyterianism, but only its necessary commonplaces in a minimum statement painfully secured."<sup>1.</sup>

There is probably something of the idea of "transmission" in the regulations adopted by the Westminster Assembly for Ordination: "Every Minister of the Word is to be ordained...<sup>2.</sup> by those preaching Presbyters to whom it doth belong."

A definite doctrine of succession was taught by IUS DIVINUM MINISTERII EVANGELICI published in 1654. But fundamentally, on the general view of the Reformed Church, the succession is one of doctrine. If this be at fault, no other succession is of avail. The Scottish Church Society might have saved itself no little anxiety, if its members had realised that the uneasiness felt in non-Episcopal churches regarding some current Anglican statements on apostolic succession arose from the tendency of these statements/

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, op. cit., preface, p. VI.  
 2. WESTMINSTER FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT, p. 586.

/statements to separate succession through episcopal ordination from the vital matter of succession in apostolic doctrine as embodied in Holy Scripture, and that this tendency had no historic precedent in historical Anglican thought before the nineteenth century Oxford Movement.<sup>1.</sup>

The leaders of the society were disconcerted by the suggestion that the laying on of hands was dispensed with for a time at Ordination in the Scottish Reformed Church. Sprott tried to dismiss the FIRST BOOK OF DISCIPLINE as never having been the law of the Church, and thus sought to disparage its judgement that "the laying on of hands, we judge not necessary."<sup>2.</sup>

But this document expressed the mind of "the executive" of the reforming party of the time. Doubtless, imposition of hands was for a time omitted.<sup>3.</sup> This would be only the acceptance of Calvin's dictum that the laying on of hands, although ancient and meaningful, was so much bound up now with superstition that it had best be omitted for a time at least. In practice in the Church of Scotland, while the act of Ordination has always been regarded as essential and of Divine appointment, great stress has been placed on the call, training, trial, and popular election of the candidate for the Ministry.

Sprott, Leishman, Cooper and others in seeking to prove that the Church of Scotland stood for a rigid ~~theory~~ theory of apostolic/

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1. cf. N. Sykes, OLD PRIEST AND NEW PRESBYTER, p. 243.  
 2. G. W. Sprott, THE BOOK OF COMMON ORDER, p. xlvi.  
 3. See J. L. Ainslie, op. cit., p. 171f.

/apostolic succession through persons - through the Ordination of Presbyters by Presbyters - failed to meet the demands of the Roman and High Anglican succession doctrines. They had need to fill in too many gaps with conjectures and assumptions. "It would," as has been truly said, "be a sorry state of affairs for the Ministry of the Church of Scotland, if its validity had to depend on what could be reliably made out in these tracings of 'successions' by way either of Rome, Canterbury, Iona or Jerusalem. It would reduce validity to an even more precarious position than the similarly supposed derived validity in the Ministry of these other Churches, which is more than sufficiently precarious. One may express the opinion that, after all, whatsoever of real validity there is in these other Ministries depends on something other than what is often claimed for them and comes from that which is very different from what is contained in their 'series' or 'succession' theories. Among whatever other factors there may be, it undoubtedly depends in part on the constitutional authorising of those Ministries by their respective Churches. As for the validity of the Reformed Church Ministry, it stands simply on the functioning of the living Church in the way of authorising under Christ the Ministry, and commissioning those men to be in it who will possess and present the living Word as revealed in Christ. This latter element in the validity, namely, the preaching/

/preaching function, it may be noticed, is not a creation of the Church. A preacherhood of the Word cannot be created by the Church in the manner in which it is supposed a priesthood of the Mass can be created, by any correct agents and acts and formulae. All that the Church can do is to receive, and authorize, and regulate preachers. The actual gift of preaching must always come to each from God. There must always be something of the prophetic gift direct from God about the true preacherhood. The Reformed churchmen desired, required, and looked for, men having such gifts to place in the Ministry. Their "trials" or examination were meant as a means so far as possible, for testing the ability, spirituality and general suitability of candidates for the Ministry..."<sup>1.</sup>

The Scottish Church Society claimed that the Church of Scotland in her doctrine of the Ministry was far removed both from the Roman and the Independent doctrines of the Ministry, but was very near to the Anglican doctrine. Unfortunately, they apparently did not see that the theory of apostolic succession through persons taught in the Anglican Church since the Tractarian revival, created a great obstacle to Christian re-union, and that any such narrow view of succession should be repudiated, rather than accepted, by the Church of Scotland. Cooper was particularly guilty here.

These Scottish churchmen were offended by the Anglican theory, which/

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1. J. L. Ainslie, op. cit., pp. 250 - 251.

/which un-Churched those in Presbyterian Orders, yet they sought to formulate a similar theory for Presbyterian Orders, in order that they might claim as their own much of the sacramental and Church teaching which the Tractarians had inspired in the English Church. They did not reject the recent Anglican interpretation of succession through persons, with its correspondingly unsympathetic and unrealistic ignoring of the facts that the Reformers were forced to choose between a succession of persons and one of doctrine, and chose the latter as fundamental. They did not repudiate this narrow interpretation of succession, which inevitably, instead of making available for all Reformed Christendom, the spiritual riches of the sacramental view of the Church, locked them up fast within the narrow enclosure walled in by the doctrine of apostolic succession. This succession theory "tended to become a suffocating snare, drawn ever tighter in proportion to the vigour and intensity of religious life,"<sup>1.</sup> within Anglo-Catholicism.

The mutual recognition of their Ministries by Anglicans and Presbyterians did not really depend upon the recognition of an unbroken succession of successive Ordinations by Bishops or Presbyters from Apostolic times. It rested fundamentally on the intention in Ordination. Even Rome would admit that mere form does not make Ordination valid, unless the right intention is expressed. The intention in Ordination in Anglicanism was not so clear as it/

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1. Y. Brilioth, THE ANGLICAN REVIVAL, p. 329.

/it was in the Church of Scotland. Some Anglicans certainly meant to ordain Priests to offer the Sacrifice of the Eucharist. The intention in Scotland was clearly to ordain Ministers of the Word and the Sacraments with pastoral oversight of the Flock, but always subject in all their authority to that of the Word of God.

Obviously, teaching such as that which we have been considering would influence the revival of worship in the Scottish Church. The teaching on apostolic succession fostered a sense of continuity with the past, and made worshippers more tolerant of revived Catholic usages, which had disappeared from the worship of the Church of Scotland.

Baptism, administered in Church, more frequent celebrations of Holy Communion, and the observance of the Christian Year are cases in point.

Some worshippers realised clearly that they came to church, not to hear the minister of their own choice, but to worship in the House of God, where the minister exercised sacred functions which had been committed to him by Christ Himself. They felt more appreciably that their minister's ministry was but a link in a long chain of ministry - the local representative of the one, universal Ministry, which is exercised in Christ's Name throughout the Catholic Church. This, at the close of a long, self-effacing/



/self-effacing ministry, Dr, Cromarty Smith could say to his congregation, which had been trained to this way of thought,  
 "God buries His workmen, but carries on His work."<sup>1.</sup>

By reminding the Church that the minister in all his ministerial acts is Christ's representative, not the congregation's employee, and by pointing out that Christ, being the sole Minister of the Grace of God, is active in the midst of His Church, being pleased to honour the ministerial acts of His ordained servants, this teaching turned men's thoughts from a conception of public worship which allowed the personality and "pulpit gifts" of the minister to obtrude themselves unduly. It encouraged ministers in the reverent conduct of public worship. The ministry of Dr. H. J. Wotherspoon at St. Oswald's, Edinburgh, was typical. At his death he left a great mass of manuscript prayers, which he had prepared meticulously for all types of occasions during his long ministry. In his preaching he conveyed the sense of high privilege, which spoke no word lightly, but all in the Name and by the authority of Christ.

This teaching reminded the Church of the spiritual reality of sacramental worship according to the Reformed tradition. There ~~it is~~ <sup>that man</sup> not so much <sup>do</sup> something which Christ commanded them to do, ~~but~~ <sup>as</sup> that ~~of~~ our Lord, present in the midst of His Church, ministers the Sacraments Himself, through the obedience and faith of ~~minister~~ and/

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1. Quoted in TRINITY PARISH CHURCH, COATDYKE, 1905 - 1955, p. 15.

/and flock alike.

This teaching, then, helped to make the worship of the Church more objective. It fostered a solemn, ordered, devout type of service, which sought ~~tebe~~ to be the Divine Service of the Church, Reformed and Catholic, in Scotland. In a church, for example, like St. Bride's, Partick, such a service, besides ministering to the needs of the parishioners, attracted the devout and the cultured from other parts of the city.

But for the most part, the public worship of the Church, still left so largely in the minister's discretion, continued to find its focal point in the sermon. Nor did the Scottish Church Society and its teaching check the evils attendant upon the popular election of ministers. These rather increased. The day of press advertisements, of vacant pastorates, of interviews of candidates for vacant parishes, conducted on the lines of business firms, was at hand. In the election of a minister, too often the test was not the preacher's "apostolicity" in his proclamation of the Word, but something quite subsidiary - even on occasion his adroitness at raising money or his wife's willingness to undertake "Church work."

The popular choice was not sacramental worship, nor a liturgical service. It did not insist on a devout, faithful and fearless handling of the Word of God. It tended to be side-tracked by "popular gifts" and "arresting preaching" - which could mean topical allusions, /

/allusions, a profusion of illustrations, object-lessons for the children, and slurring over the doctrines of the Ascension, the Bodily Resurrection, the Judgement to come, and the intensely ascetic note in our Lord's teaching.

At the end of our period of study, it was still possible to attend an administration of Holy Baptism, where the rite was treated purely as a pledge by the sponsors, to ensure a Christian training for the child. It was still possible to attend a celebration of the Lord's Supper, where the service was shaped according to the minister's fancy, and where the Elements were not consecrated.

The Scottish Church Society was suspected of sacerdotalism, and not unjustly. Its claim that the minister spoke on behalf of Christ was not always sufficiently safeguarded by the qualification that the preacher's ipsissima verba are not the Word of God, but that, as in the case of the letter of Holy Scripture, the Word of God comes to men through the words of men. The preacher's bearing, accent, spirituality and presentation of truth should all point away from himself to Christ. Only when this is achieved in the experience of the worshippers, can a sermon be termed "a good sermon." Ministers are significant only as "hands pointing away from themselves to the figure on the Cross." <sup>1.</sup>

The popular, prevailing view of the Ministry tended to veer towards a sacerdotalism of a different kind. It looked much to the man./

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1. D. T. Jenkins, op. cit., p. 24.

/man. It concentrated too much on the gifts, the piety, the personality and popularity of the preacher. It left the expression of the people's worship too exclusively to his discretion.

The fact is that both preacher and people, both worship and sermon, stand under the judgement of the Word of God. Only when, by the power of the Holy Spirit, the Church knows in and through Word and Sacrament, that Christ is Lord, only then is she the Church, only then is her worship acceptable to God, only then is the sermon the proclamation of the Word.

One wonders how far H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick meant to press even the suggestion that the minister in the Eucharist in setting forth the Bread and Wine represents Christ, in His access to the Father, pleading for sinners. They do not actually say that the minister does represent Christ in this sense. Elsewhere, Wotherspoon claims that the minister and the people are sacramentally enacting here below that which Christ is accomplishing in Heaven,

Surely in his whole approach to God on behalf of the people, the minister can be no more than the representative of the people. He is to "pray with and for ~~his~~ the flock, as the mouthpiece of the people unto God."<sup>2</sup> He is their representative, but his ministry, as Calvin pointed out, is not based on the universal priesthood of all believers, but on Christ's appointment. He is appointed to represent/

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1. See A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, pp. 146 - 148.  
 2. THE FORM OF CHURCH GOVERNMENT: PASTORS.

/represent the people, not Christ, in the people's approach unto God. He cannot in any way, nor can the Church in any way, represent Christ in His access to the Father. As Mediator, Christ stands alone. The veil of holy mystery, which shrouds the details of the inter-relationship of the work of the Persons of the Trinity, precludes our seeking analogies for it in ministerial acts.

c. Holy Baptism

The TRACTS FOR THE TIMES raised the question of Baptismal Regeneration in the minds of many in Scotland. In the earlier period of the revival of worship in the Established Church, this doctrine was condemned out of hand. Even those who favoured liturgical reform in the Kirk, scorned the idea that they might use the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER, because it taught "Baptismal Regeneration."

The testimony of the Catholic Apostolic Church to the distinction between regeneration and conversion helped Scottish churchmen to distinguish between regeneration in the sense of "engrafting into Christ," and the experience of conversion, in which conscious faith and the human will are so manifestly involved.

The later stages of the revival of worship found Baptismal Regeneration, in the proper sense of the term, widely held by those who were working for a more Catholic form of worship in the Church of Scotland.

Edward Irving, not the Tractarians, was the true father in Scotland of a fresh acknowledgement of the vital spiritual union effected in the Sacraments between Christ and the soul, and in particular of the fact of Baptismal Regeneration. Irving claimed that the discovery of the reality of sacramental grace revolutionised/

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/revolutionised his own life.

Some, indeed, have thought that if the Church of Scotland had heeded Irving's sacramental teaching at the time, she might have had, instead of the Disruption, a sacramental revival ~~in her own Church~~ before, or contemporary with, the Oxford Movement. 87

In Edward Irving's teaching we find that emphasis which was to characterise the teaching of the Scottish Church Society on Baptism - the distinction between regeneration and conversion; the objection to magnifying the validity of conversion at the expense of the reality of the spiritual experience of Baptism; the acknowledgement that the grace of Baptism extends over the whole of life; the assertion that God has given to His Church Baptism to engraft and the Eucharist to nourish the soul.

Irving, however, was careful to square his baptismal teaching with the Calvinism of the Church's Standards. He wrote:

"But, while the Church according to the practice of the Apostles, doth never speak of Baptism as less than it really ought to be, and always is, to a believer; nor of the baptized as less than ~~it~~ <sup>they</sup> ought to be, if they have faith; she doth not thereby enter into the secret counsels of God, and determine whether the person who hath received the seed of righteousness by faith be one of God's hidden ones who are chosen in Christ, or whether/

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1. E. Irving, THE CONFESSIONS OF FAITH AND THE BOOKS OF DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, preface, p. C.

/whether he be one whom Satan hath introduced into the fold, and to whom God permitted his most faithful ministers unwittingly to open the door." <sup>1.</sup>

Also, he could say "The gift of faith we never set forth as a consequence of Baptism, but as an act of the Divine will." <sup>2.</sup>

This is just the "Protestant" view of the Sacrament, which Pusey condemned, because, instead of asserting that a Sacrament gives something in itself, it makes the faith of the right recipient the consecrating principle, and that which really "brings down Christ to the heart of each individual." <sup>3.</sup>

The High Churchmen of the revival of worship never solved this problem. H. J. Wotherspoon openly admitted that "orthodox Calvinism took the position (its doctrine of the elect permitting no more) that in the case of the regenerate, regeneration normally takes place in Baptism, but so that all baptized persons are not undoubtedly regenerate." <sup>4.</sup> Their general tendency was to emphasise the positive statements of the Church's Standards regarding the grace attached to Baptism, while disregarding their statements regarding Election, which so limit these statements. By this evasion, they sought to bring the Church of Scotland nearer to a sacramental view of the Church than she had been since the Reformation.

These Scottish churchmen taught that Baptism is an act of God/

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1. E. Irving, HOMILIES ON THE SACRAMENTS, vol. II, OF BAPTISM, pp. 422 - 3.  
 2. Ibid, p. 430. 3. TRACTS FOR THE TIMES, No. 69, p. 176.  
 4. H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, p. 169.



/God in which the soul is passive. God is faithful to graft, regenerate and adopt according to His promise. We cannot say anything regarding the use made by the recipient of Baptism.

The graft may wither and die. The baptized may fail to make sure their election and calling in Christ.<sup>1.</sup>

"Grace may be neglected and unimproved; it may be received to condemnation, rather than to salvation: but in order that there may be any response on our part to the great Redemptive Acts of God, God's own help is necessary. We may believe, then, that with God's calling there is given God's Spirit. It is at least made possible that the soul should meet mercy with repentance, and love with faith. Baptism is not a mockery."<sup>2.</sup>

Basing their argument mainly on LARGER CATECHISM, Question 167, they concluded "Reception of Baptism is the normal starting point of the spiritual development of the individual soul, and the course of that development exhibits the unfolding of the content of Baptism. This is the view of the Catholic Church, and of the Church of Scotland in its Standards."<sup>3.</sup>

They taught that Baptism is to be administered only where there are "signs of God's election" - in the case of adults, faith and repentance, in that of infants - the appointment of God's providence - recognised where there is due sponsorship.<sup>4.</sup>

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1. H. J. Wotherspoon and J. M. Kirkpatrick, A MANUAL OF CHURCH DOCTRINE, p. 49.
  2. Ibid, p. 45.
  3. Ibid, p. 95.
  4. Ibid, p. 49.

John Macleod, in his long treatise on Baptism, seems to follow the Catholic Apostolic identification of Baptism with Election. For him, Baptism means election, and incorporation in the Divine Life of the New Adam. He could say: "Holy Baptism is a Divine Act wrought for the purpose of putting ~~and~~ the believing recipient in the assured possession of blessing other and beyond those which can be attained by such faith as stops short of the reception of that rite."<sup>1.</sup>

Again, Macleod points out that "Baptism is ordinarily the Sacrament of God's election, and the only Divinely provided means of admission to the peculiar grace and vocation belonging to the Church."<sup>2.</sup>

For Macleod, election is a bestowal of grace which does not alter individual responsibility.<sup>3.</sup> He accepts an Election within election. The baptized are elect, but only those who persevere are "the Elect." He admits that his teaching on baptismal grace cannot be reconciled with a doctrine of election which excludes from any degree of grace those who do not finally persevere.<sup>4.</sup> He showed something of the Tractarian concern over post-baptismal sin. He held that the baptized are on trial for the crown of life which they may finally miss.<sup>5.</sup>

John Macleod's teaching on Baptism was in Irving's tradition - with its deep conviction of the reality of the Incarnation as the pre-supposition/

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1. J. Macleod, in S. C. S. CONFERENCES, 2nd Series, vol. I, p. 65.  
 2. Ibid, p. 122.  
 3. Ibid, p. 139.; 4. See Ibid, pp. 144 - 7.  
 5. Ibid, p. 153, cf. TRACT FOR THE TIMES, no. 68; H.P. LIDDON, LIFE OF POSEY, vol. III, p. 371.  
 POSEY, vol. III, p. 371.

/pre-supposition of its sacramentalism, with its viewing forgiveness of sin and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit as the real consequences of Baptism. Irving had written "From the moment of Baptism and ever onward till the separation of soul and body, we ought to look upon our body as a pure and cleansed substance inhabited by the Holy Ghost, and by Him empowered to live the life of Christ and keep the commandments of God blameless."<sup>1.</sup>

Later, Brilioth argued that in other countries also, where nineteenth century religious movements were fertilised by Romanticism, kindred thoughts occur of Baptism as the instrument of objective grace. He cited the teaching of Gruntwig, as an example,<sup>2.</sup>

Macleod held that the neglect of Holy Baptism was the chief cause of the decline ~~of~~ the Church in his time,<sup>3.</sup> and that the notion that no grace was obtainable through this Sacrament which was not obtainable apart from its use, was emptying the Churches. He said the same of Holy Communion.<sup>4.</sup>

The sacramental view of the Church implied in these views cannot be said to have greatly influenced the revival of worship. Baptism was doubtless administered with more dignity, and oftener in Church, but the Sacrament continued to be seen primarily as an educational pledge on the part of sponsors (where infant Baptism was the rule). "Decision for Christ" at the "years of discretion" was/

1. E. Irving, op. cit., p. 435.

2.3. J. Macleod, op. cit., p. 9

2. Y. Brilioth, op. cit., p. 307.

4. Ibid, p. 189.

/was stressed at the expense of making much of baptismal grace.

Cooper and others taught that Holy Baptism must be accepted as the foundation of all instruction and training of baptized children in faith and worship. Children, he held, should be dealt with by adults as fellow-members by Baptism of Christ's Body.<sup>1.</sup>

As the revival of worship progressed, the instruction of the young, the framing of children's services, and the giving to young people of a real place in the service and worship of the Church were notable features of the movement. But children were oftener exhorted "to love Jesus" or "to behave like children who attend Sunday School" than to improve the grace of their Baptism.

The teaching that all the baptized stand in a covenant relationship with God and have been baptized into One Body, strengthened the argument for Christian re-union, and brought home the sin of schism to an ecclesiastically divided Scotland. The reminder that we are not only joined to Christ, but to one another in Baptism<sup>2.</sup> was salutary. While it inspired solicitude and unselfish labour for the less fortunate classes, among High Churchmen, it cannot be said to have exerted the influence it deserved to exert, until after the close of our period of study. Protestant individualism was very strong, so that the collective nature of the Church and the Church's members social responsibilities were not/

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1. See J. Cooper, ONE BAPTISM, Aberdeen, 1. 9. 1895.

2. J. Macleod, op. cit., p. 49.

/not fully realised.

The reminder that Baptism extends over the whole of life, and should urge on the baptized to the self-committal of conversion,<sup>1.</sup> influenced the teaching of catechumens, and provided a safeguard against an un-Biblical evangelicalism, which confused regeneration and conversion.

The main contribution to the revival of worship, which this teaching on Baptism made, was its deliverance of the Church of Scotland from the "gathered Church" and "believers' Baptism" views, which, amid the sectarianism, the preaching of Christ, not the Church and the Sacraments, and the individualism of the time, offered a real threat to the Church's spiritual heritage. There was the danger that the Church might have come to view herself as a permanent missionary society, set amid a more or less pagan community. Instead, the Church ~~remained~~ the National Church. In her public worship, she ministered to children and to adults, who were at all stages of spiritual development. Her worship was designed not to minister to the converted, or chiefly to convert the unconverted, but to mediate the grace of God through His Incarnate and Ascended Son to all the baptized, for by Baptism they were all members of the household of faith. Baptism in Macleod's phrase meant "entrance into a state of grace in which by an act of will we are to abide."<sup>2.</sup>

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1. Ibid, p. 191.

2. J. Macleod, op. cit., p. 12.

d. The Lord's Supper

If the teaching on the Eucharist, which was put forward by the Scottish Church Society and its associates, had been generally accepted in the Church of Scotland, it would have revolutionised her public worship.

H. J. Wotherspoon's RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, in which the teaching is finally re-stated in the light of recent theological thought, was published only in 1928, but the chief outlines of the teaching had been taking shape since 1880 - 90. While the teaching was new within the Reformed Church of Scotland, it cannot be said to be original, apart from some suggestions as to the nature of Christ's Heavenly Sacrifice in RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS. Most of it is found in the writings of the Tractarians and their successors, and in the eucharistic theology of the Catholic Apostolic Church. H. J. Wotherspoon was influenced considerably by Gore and William Temple. For John Macleod the pattern of Church life, and even the mode of public worship, which are acceptable to God, are part of the Revelation. Only in the celebration of the Eucharist by the baptized community, who form a priesthood, set apart to offer spiritual sacrifices to God, is God worshipped as He has commanded, only by such worship is the Church fulfilling her primary function, and only thus can she maintain her spiritual vigour and draw upon the resources of/

/of Divine grace for her missionary task in the world. Macleod was obviously greatly influenced by the eucharistic teaching of the Catholic Apostolic Church, which sees in the Eucharist the Divinely appointed form of worship. According to this teaching, public worship is "a command performance,"<sup>1.</sup> not a free, rather loosely knit, devotional service, grouping itself round the proclamation of the Word. In the Catholic Apostolic Rite, the homily must not exceed ten minutes in length.<sup>2.</sup> Accordingly, Macleod, arguing for short sermons at Holy Communion, made a statement which is revolutionary from the Reformed point of view. He said "The Word at the service of the Eucharist must be kept strictly in subordination to the main actions of the service as one of worship and intercession, and should, in fact, be treated also as introductory."<sup>3.</sup>

The Catholic Apostolic Church sees in the Tabernacle the true type of Christian worship (a model of which is often found in their churches).<sup>4.</sup>

Macleod wrote: "The study of that earthly model, pre-figuring the worship we ought now to render, shows us, by means of 1. The Golden Altar; 2. The Table of Shewbread; 3. The Golden Candlestick, which was set in the Holy Place, that the worship of the Church is now to consist of 1. Intercession; 2. Offered in/

1. See P. E. Shaw, THE CATHOLIC APOSTOLIC CHURCH, p. 194.
2. P. E. Shaw, op. cit., p. 253.
3. J. Macleod, THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION AND THE DAILY SERVICE, p. 132.
4. See P. E. Shaw, op. cit., pp. 195 - 9.

/in sacramental form, and 3. In unity with the whole Body of Christ, the Lord Himself being, as it were, the true Mercy Seat in unity with whom we now abide in the Heav~~en~~ly Places before the Shechinah Glory of the Father."<sup>1.</sup>

Macleod was likewise influenced by the very full intercessions which, in the Catholic Apostolic Liturgy, follow immediately after the consecration and oblation, the belief behind this being that "the force of the consecration is not spent, until the last soul for whom the Sacrifice was offered, has been comm~~em~~orated before God."<sup>2.</sup> This influence is seen in his own Order for Holy Communion, and in his criticisms of the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.<sup>3.</sup>

Neither, however, in EUCHOLOGION nor in PRAYERS FOR DIVINE SERVICE was the Great Intercession placed in the consecration prayer, except as an alternative in the latter book.

Another member of the Scottish Church Society said of the Eucharist, "less than weekly cannot be, and without a continuous presentation, it is as though the light were out in the Holy Place, and the shewbread table bare... we hinder our Lord's exercise of the offices of His Priesthood so long as we disuse the weekly Eucharist; because, in the end, He is the celebrant, and what are we but a vestment for His wear."<sup>4.</sup>

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1. J. Macleod, op. cit., p. 134.
  2. R. Hughes, THE LITURGY OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST, p. 20, quoted in P. E. Shaw, op. cit., p. 205.
  3. J. Macleod, op. cit., p. 135.



/The Eucharist, however, was not established as the chief service of Sunday worship week by week in one church in the Church of Scotland. At Coatdyke there was a weekly celebration, but this was held at an earlier hour than the Morning Service. The most that was achieved was a monthly celebration at the main diet of worship.

The services of the Church remained essentially "preaching services." The popular criterion was not what God has revealed as the only worship fully acceptable in His sight. It was rather that the Word should be faithfully preached, and that worshippers hearing the Word in faith, should serve God willingly in the common things of life. The teaching however, that worship is an offering made to God influenced the development of public worship considerably. The devotional part of the service became more objective, more comprehensive of the essential elements of public prayer and praise. The Commemoration of Christ's Sacrifice was treated with more solemnity and emphasis in the celebration of the Lord's Supper (where the emphasis had sometimes been put on Communion at the expense of Commemoration). Perhaps, too, joy and thanksgiving were granted more part in eucharistic worship than formerly.

In speaking of the Eucharist as a sacrifice, and in identifying it with Christ's Heavenly Sacrifice, this teaching deviated from the Calvinist tradition of the Church of Scotland. Again, if the teaching/

/teaching had been widely accepted, it might have led to a predominantly sacramental worship in the Church. The concept of sacrifice, so markedly absent from Reformed worship would have become fundamental. It is true, of course, that the Westminster CONFESSIO OF FAITH speaks of the Lord's Supper as an "oblation of all possible praises unto God."<sup>1.</sup> This remained the limit beyond which the Church did not appear willing to advance in calling the Eucharist a sacrifice, that is - a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving.

Such a view of sacrifice is agreeable to Calvin's teaching which recognises only two Christian sacrifices - Christ's Propitiatory Sacrifice upon the Cross, and the Christian believer's sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, based upon his sacrifice of his soul and body to be the Temple of the Holy Spirit.<sup>2.</sup>

Calvin rejected any idea of a sacrificial offering in the Eucharist other than that which is to be found in all Christian prayer.<sup>3.</sup> Luther, also, rejected the sacrifice of the Mass, holding that Bread and Wine are offered to God for His blessing, that they may be sanctified by word and prayer, but that after the consecration, they are not offered, but received from God as a gift.<sup>4.</sup>

Elements of Tractarian eucharistic teaching are traceable in/

1. Chapter XXIX, 2.

2. J. Calvin, INSTITUTES, IV, viii.

3. cf. D. Stone, THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST, vol. II, p.

4. cf. M. Luther, OPERA LATINA, Frankfurt edition, V, 54.  
pp. 36 - 55, quoted in D. Stone, op. cit., vol. II, p. 14.

/in what the Scottish Church Society taught regarding Eucharistic Sacrifice.

Macleod's teaching is found in very similar terms in Keble's and in Pusey's writings, where the doctrine of the unity of the offering of the Eucharist with Christ's Heavenly Sacrifice is very similar, namely that the Church pleads below the same Sacrifice as Christ, the High Priest, presents in Heaven.<sup>1.</sup> Of course, the early Church had constantly spoken of the Eucharist as a sacrifice without always defining its use of the term. The Bread and Wine would suggest sacrifice to early Christian minds, and the use of the words anamnesis, poieite, and diatheke in the one context in the New Testament would also suggest sacrifice.

Within the Church of Scotland, agreement was general that the element of sacrifice is present in eucharistic worship, namely, 1. in offering the unconsecrated gifts of Bread and Wine unto God; 2. in offering up praise and thanksgiving for Christ's Oblation on the Cross; 3. in the self-offering of the worshippers as a living sacrifice unto God. Difficulties were encountered when the idea of sacrifice was associated with 4. the identification of the Commemoration of Christ's Death with the offering of the consecrated Bread and Wine to God, and 5. the unity of the oblation of the consecrated Elements with Christ's presentation of His Sacrifice anew in Heaven/

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1. See J. Keble, ON EUCHARISTIC ADORATION OR THE WORSHIP OF OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR IN THE SACRAMENT OF HOLY COMMUNION, 1857; also CONSIDERATIONS SUGGESTED BY A LATE PASTORAL LETTER ON THE DOCTRINE OF THE MOST HOLY EUCHARIST, 1858; also E. B. Pusey, A LETTER TO THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON IN EXPLANATION OF SOME STATEMENTS CONTAINED IN A LETTER BY REV. W. DODSWORTH, 1851.

/Heaven.

The Scottish Church Society rightly emphasised 1, 2 and 3, and had no difficulty in commending these points to the Church's attention, thereby making public worship more objective. With regard to 4, they never ventured to assert with the pre-Nicene Church and with the Tractarians, that the Sacrifice of the Eucharist is organically one with Christ's Sacrifice upon the Cross, because under the veils of Bread and Wine, though not joined to those veils by any physical union, the Church offers up to God the very Body and Blood of our Lord.

Nor did they openly repudiate Calvin's teaching that Christ's Body and Blood are in Heaven. H. J. Wotherspoon, indeed, showed his adherence to it, by maintaining <sup>rather</sup> that the worshippers are ~~rather~~ lifted up into heavenly communion with Christ, than that by the consecration Christ is called down to an earthly altar.<sup>1.</sup>

This new teaching did not go beyond saying that the Eucharist is a commemorative sacrifice - the Church's pleading before God of the One, Perfect and Eternal Sacrifice once offered by Christ on the Cross. Also, the teaching remained loyal to Calvin's resistance to any earthly localisation of our Lord's Ascended and Glorified Body. It did not reject Calvin's view of Heaven, and his clear cut distinction between the orders of grace/

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1. See H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, p. 283.

/grace and of nature. For the faithful communicant there was a Real Presence in the Eucharist. It was a Presence in the heart, not in the hand.

Anxious to be accounted Catholic, these churchmen failed to meet the demands of characteristically Catholic teaching - namely, ~~the belief~~ that the Body and Blood of Christ are present in the Sacrament under the forms of Bread and Wine, and that the Eucharist is a Sacrifice of the Body and Blood so present (after the consecration and prior to and independent of, Holy Communion) offered unto God, and that the Body and Blood of our Lord, being present in the Sacrament independent of their reception by the faithful in Holy Communion, are truly offered to all communicants whether they be faithful or not; that the Bread and the Wine remain entire and unchanged throughout the service; that we do not presume to define the sacramental relationship between the Body and Blood of Christ and the Bread and Wine. 87

It is true, however, that these churchmen did not attempt to re-define the manner of Christ's Presence in this Sacrament. It is true that the Church's Standards do not tie the Church down rigidly to Calvin's interpretation of the nature of the Presence. Thus the way was left open for re-union with other Churches on the basis of belief in the Real Presence without defining the relationship between that Presence and the Elements.

H. J. Wotherspoon preferred to speak of the Presence of Christ/

/Christ as being real throughout the whole rite, rather than as being made real at the consecration, and of the whole sacramental action as the Sacrament rather than of either or both of the Elements as the "Blessed Sacrament."

Critics of the Calvinist doctrine of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament have condemned it as a doctrine of "Real Absence," complaining that it was a novel theory in the theology of the Church. It certainly in practice has produced a type of sacramental worship in which the elements of awe and mystery are notable, and in which the Communion of believers with the Unseen but Present Lord is a great reality. But it must be noticed that from the point of view of public worship, and all that concerns it - architecture, ritual, liturgies - there is a qualitative difference between worship which asserts, and asserts no more, of the consecrated Bread and Wine than that they are "unto us the Communion of the Body and Blood" of our Lord, and worship which sees the Body and Blood of Christ present in the consecrated Bread and Wine, set objectively upon the altar before the worshippers. Even Calvin himself admitted that if Christ's Body and Blood are present in this latter sense, a special worship is called for. He said "Sic enim semper ratiocinati sumus, si Christus est in pane, esse sub pane adorandum."<sup>1</sup>

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1. J. Calvin, *adv. Heshus, Opera*, VIII; 727, quoted in Wilberforce, *THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST*, p. 211.

No revival of worship, however diligent in borrowing the paraphernalia of Catholic worship, can ever quite capture its spirit, without admitting adoration of the eucharistic Presence. No church, however beautifully conceived and constructed, or however frequent its celebrations of the Lord's Supper, can inspire in its worshippers, by any Incarnational theology, still less by any mere aestheticism, the spirit of worship which is inspired by the belief that the very Body and Blood of Christ are present in the Elements.

The Calvinist doctrine of the Lord's Supper has undoubtedly produced a worship which can rise to great spiritual heights. Here, too, Christ's Presence is a great spiritual reality, but the external details of the worship - architecture, ceremony, even liturgy, are not so meaningful and important. If made too much of, they hinder, rather than help, the worshippers' Communion with Christ.<sup>1</sup> A certain simplicity and reverent informality are called for, at least worshippers are helped by being enabled to feel that the service is being directed by the Spirit, for the immediate proximity of the spiritual realities with which the Sacrament deals can be obscured for them by too rigid and formal a use of fixed order. Unfortunately, in practice, it can descend to a Zwinglian level. In Scotland it has bred no great reverence in the preparation, handling and disposal of the Bread and Wine. The silent Communion can be most meaningful - /

/meaningful - more so perhaps than any other single feature of Scottish Presbyterian worship, but the revival of worship appears to have been unable to do anything to stop that deterioration in church attendance whereby many communicants come to church only at a quarterly or half-yearly Communion Service - a practice which destroys something of the spiritual intensity of the silent worship at the time of the administering of Holy Communion, on account of the sometimes quite manifest irreverence and unspirituality of some of the communicants.

At the close of our period of study, receptionist views of the Sacrament remained predominant. More stress was placed on Communion than on Commemoration. Emphasis was still strongly laid on "worthy receiving." The Sacrament was popularly looked on as a solemn pledge of personal salvation to the believer by Christ, and of faith and obedience on the part of the believer towards Christ.

Most of what the Scottish Church Society said regarding the unity of the Eucharist with Christ's Heavenly Sacrifice had already been popularised by the Oxford Movement. Seeing its origin in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in the Revelation of St. John, this teaching had repeatedly found expression in the Christian Church. It was given no official recognition by the Council of Trent, although it had been taught by many of the Fathers, by the mediaeval, western liturgical writers, and by the Greek theologians of the Middle Ages. It is found also in hymns/



/hymns by John and Charles Wesley, who seem to have combined receptionist views of the Sacrament with a "sacrificial commemoration of the Death of Christ in union with His pleading of His Eternal Sacrifice in Heaven."<sup>1.</sup>

There is no authority for it in the Church of Scotland Standards. Question 55 of the LARGER CATECHISM was frequently quoted in its support. This, however, says that Christ's Heavenly Work is Intercession, not Sacrifice, and this is the view generally held in the Church of Scotland. Adamson voiced the opinion of the Church when he said that "true as it is that Christ's mediatory life in Heaven is a life for us, the introduction of the appellation sacrifice is somehow not altogether happy. And, even if it were from some points of view appropriate, the Eucharist cannot under this head be called sacrificial. At best, it could only be a means of grace in dependence upon Christ's Heavenly Mediation."<sup>2.</sup>

The suggestion that our Lord was in Heaven pleading in any sense with the Father to accept, as it might seem, rather grudgingly, His Finished Work, was unwelcome. To dogmatise regarding the details of the mode of Christ's Heavenly activity was seen to be irreverent, and likely to lead to ridiculous assumptions. Yet the/

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1. cf. D. Stone, op. cit., vol. II, p. 510f.
  2. R. M. Adamson, THE CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE OF THE LORD'S SUPPER, p. 167.

/the element of sacrifice cannot be excluded from our conception of Christ's Heavenly Ministry. He is the Lamb that has been slain. He bears the marks of His Passion. He Himself is our Sacrifice, but His work is Intercession, based, if you like, on His One Sacrifice, rather than any pleading that that Sacrifice should be accepted ever anew. His work is not "reminding God." In Himself He is the Anamnesis. This point was a valuable contribution from H. J. Wotherspoon. It probably does all that can be done to fit the unity of the Commemoration of Christ's Sacrificial Death in the Eucharist with the Intercessory Ministry which He now exercises in Heaven, into the general Church of Scotland interpretation of the Sacrament.<sup>1.</sup>

But, like most of the teaching of the Scottish Church Society, while passing somewhat beyond the teaching of the Church's Standards, or at least interpreting them in the light of later Anglican theology, this conception of the unity of the earthly and Heavenly Sacrifice failed to meet the requirements of thorough-going Catholic doctrine. It ventured to assert only that the Church in this Sacrament sacramentally enacts on earth that which Christ is actually enacting in the Upper Sanctuary. It did not assert that the Church in setting forth the sacramental Bread and Wine before God is setting before God the oblation of Christ's Body and Blood, which by their Real Presence on the altar, guarantee the organic unity of the Heavenly and Eucharistic Sacrifices.

Anglicans of an older school like Wilberforce and Freeman argue/

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/argue that there can be no such Sacrifice in the Eucharist on the Calvinist view, because the Body and Blood are not there to be offered in the Eucharist.<sup>1.</sup> The Sacrament on this view in their estimation is able to offer nothing but a pledge to the elect. Dix has recently put the thing the other way round. The Real Presence depends upon the Sacrifice, not vice versa. "We make," he said, "the Sacrifice dependent on the Sacrament. But the Primitive Church approached the matter from the opposite direction. They said that because the Eucharist is essentially an action and the Church in doing that action is simply Christ's Body performing His will, the eucharistic action of sacrifice is necessarily His action of sacrifice, and what is offered must be what He offered. The consequences of His action are what He declared they would be: 'This is My Body' and 'This is My Blood.'<sup>2.</sup> They made the Sacrament depend upon the Sacrifice."

It cannot be said that this teaching on the unity of the Heavenly and eucharistic Sacrifices left its mark on the public worship of the Church of Scotland, apart from the fact that due place was given to the anamnesis in drawing up eucharistic orders of service.

The Lord's Supper continued to be associated with the Risen Christ in the minds of the worshippers, rather than with the Ascended Christ. The suggestion, so frequently made by John Macleod and H. J. Wotherspoon, that the celebration of the Eucharist is our co-operation with Christ in His Heavenly Ministry, that the fraction is the exhibition/

1. See Archdeacon Wilberforce, THE DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST, p. 172 - 191; P. Freeman, THE PRINCIPLES OF THE DIVINE SERVICE, vol. II, pp. 195 - 202.

2. G. Dix, op. cit., p. 246.

/exhibition before God of Christ's effectual mediation in the midst of His Church,<sup>1.</sup> or even in some sense our sharing in Christ's High Priesthood,<sup>2.</sup> did not commend itself to the Church. It may well be asked, as has already been suggested, if believers can even sacramentally enact any part of Christ's "Ministry towards the Father." To speak thus introduces all sorts of crudities of thought, and shows a lack of that reverential awe, which so characterises the tone of the New Testament writers, whenever they speak of our Lord's Heavenly Life.

The Church stood fast by Calvin's opinion that God "has given us a Table at which to feast, not an altar on which to offer a sacrifice; He has not consecrated priests to sacrifice,<sup>3.</sup> but ministers to distribute the sacred banquet."

H. J. Wotherspoon's insistence that the essence of sacrifice is the dedication of the will to God, perhaps owes something to McLeod Campbell, who sought to see in Hebrews 10; 5-18, the essence of the sacrifice of the Atonement - Christ's complete dedication of Himself to the accomplishment of the Divine Will.<sup>4.</sup>

Westcott also held that the essence of sacrifice lies deeper than death or destruction.<sup>5.</sup> The dedication of an abiding life is no less sacrificial than the death which in some circumstances is a necessary part of the oblation of the will.

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1. J. Macleod, THE GOSPEL OF THE HOLY COMMUNION, p. 72.

2. Ibid, p. 104.

3. J. Calvin, INSTITUTES, IV, xviii; 12.

4. See J. P. Alexander, A PRIEST FOREVER, p. 160f.

5. See B. F. Westcott, EPISTLES OF ST. JOHN and EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

SECTION 12REVIEW OF THE REVIVAL OF CHURCH WORSHIP, 1892 - 1930

The Scottish Church Society, with its particular testimony, stood outwith the main stream of development in the revival of worship in the Church of Scotland, although its Catholic interpretation of the Church's Standards was not without representation among the views held by those who promoted the revival from the first.

The Society was felt by those within and without the Established Church to represent the views of a party in that Church, rather than to interpret the mind of that Church accurately. Many stood aloof from its activities, who shared some of its views and were active in the prosecution of improvement in Church worship - notably Wallace Williamson, who resigned from membership of the Society. Others objected to the Society's "Fundamentalist" and "Sacerdotalist" views. Cooper, the Society's most colourful figure, was esteemed rather than followed in the General Assembly. More discerning Anglicans saw that he did not represent the general outlook of the Church of Scotland at the time.

In their endeavour to find in the Church's Standards a sure foundation for Catholic teaching on the Church, the Ministry, and the Sacraments. and a consequent theory of public worship, the Society tended, like the Tractarians, to look for a "Golden Age" in the/

/the history of their own Reformed Church, to which they could appeal in justification of their teaching. In the Society's view the doctrinal and liturgical attitudes adopted by at least some within the Church did not find the expression which they merited when the Westminster Standards came to be drawn up. While such an opinion is not without foundation, it is a judgement which must be weighed against the form which the Reformation itself took in Scotland and the development of Church life during the Covenanting period and subsequently.

One cannot, however, under-estimate the importance of the Scottish Church Society's influence upon the worship of the Church. The Society exercised an influence out of all proportion to the size of its membership. In particular, it safe-guarded the doctrine of the Ministry and the rite of Ordination; it stood for a full Biblical theology in a day of doubt and criticism; it engendered an ecumenical outlook within the Church of Scotland; it kept the vision of the Church Catholic before a Presbyterianism which was sometimes in danger of falling into a provincial and sectarian ~~euileek~~- outlook; it gradually reminded the Church of the supreme importance of sacramental worship, and it was chiefly responsible for the Church's coming to view public worship primarily as an offering made to God.

Without its work the Church of Scotland could not have brought into the re-united Church in 1929 the valuable contribution on/

/on the ordering of public worship, which it was able to make. Without the Society's witness, the Church could not have taken the share which it was later to take in ecumenical discussions; nor is it likely that the BOOK OF COMMON ORDER (1940) would have taken the form which it did. If the Society had done nothing else for the Church of Scotland, save to set the whole question of the ordering of public worship in an ecumenical background, it would have put the Church immeasurably in its debt. The Society rightly saw that changes in public worship should be such as would make wider Church union more, not less, possible, and that the enrichment of Church worship would come from the Church of Scotland's participation in the life and worship of the Catholic Church. The Society was less happy in thinking that full doctrinal agreement must precede re-union.

In retrospect, the Society seems to have been rather unrealistic in its attitude to 1. the existing spirit and outlook of the Church of Scotland, 2. the possibility of re-union with the Church of England, and 3. the approximation in life and worship between the Established and U. F. Churches.

The Thornliebank and Barnhill cases proved an embarrassment to the Society at the time, as both the ministers involved were members of the Society. Charleson of Thornliebank seceded to Rome, while Adamson of Barnhill was severely censured. The views and practices of these two ministers were not, however, representative of/

/of those of the Society.

Jacob Primmer, Dunfermline, provided a more serious and permanent embarrassment. Often ill-informed and inaccurate in his accusations, this noisy advocate of "Reformation Principles", by organising public meetings, interrupting services, and initiating procedure in the Church courts, created an uneasiness in the popular mind, which, while it did not amount to informed conviction, exercised restraint upon ministerial activity in introducing symbolism and ceremonial in Church worship.<sup>1.</sup>

Definite limits were set to that process of borrowing from the public worship of other churches, which we noted in the earlier phase of the revival. Prayer desks, robed choirs, individual cups for Holy Communion, etc. were permitted, but Charleson's tabernacle and Adamson's mixed chalice, altar lights, eastward position at the consecration, and his administration of Holy Communion to the kneeling communicants without the assistance of elders, were all prohibited.

Thus there never developed among Scottish High Churchmen the extensive use of ritual and ornament which were contrary to the law of the Church, as happened among Anglo-Catholics. Generally speaking, congregations tended to tolerate innovations which added to/

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1. See J. Rrimmer, MR. J. M. CHARLESON'S 'WHY I LEFT THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND' OR THE SECRET ROMANIZING SCOTTISH CHURCH SOCIETY - EXPOSED BY JACOB PRIMMER; Also PASTOR JACOB PRIMMER AND DUNDEE PRESBYTERY, a collection of press cuttings which was circulated among members of the General Assembly, and exercised considerable influence in the Barnhill case.



/to the seemliness and beauty of the services, but to be most intolerant of any which suggested to them "priestly" claims or a "magical" view of the Sacraments.

The Society did not succeed in convincing the Church that their interpretation of the Church's Standards was the correct one, nor did it persuade the Church to make the Eucharist, with all the significance attached to its celebration by the Society, central in the Church's worship. Nevertheless, the Society's testimony long continued to influence the Church's opinions, and witnessed to a sacramental worship which the Church could well make her own. It may be that in the future, the substance of the Society's teaching on sacramental worship will be accepted by the Church, if not for the reasons which the Society put forward. The Society at times evinced a timidly conservative attitude. It perhaps failed to see sufficiently clearly that, as a child of the Reformation, the Church of Scotland need not seek to stabilise faith and practice by appeal to any "Golden Age," whether the ante-Nicene Church or the early post-Reformation Church, but that her calling is ever to submit her faith and worship to the judgement of the Word of God, by the light of which she needs to be reformed, not once, but repeatedly.

More recently, the revival of Reformed theology, the re-establishing of the authority of the Bible, and the study of the liturgical background of the New Testament have confirmed the authority/

/authority of the Word of God as the norm for faith and practice. It may well be that a fresh and conscientious submission of the Church's worship to the judgement of the Word of God will lead the Church, not away from, but further into, an acceptance of Catholic teaching on the Church, the Ministry and the Sacraments, with a consequent appropriation of Catholic practice in public worship.

After 1892 the main stream of development in the revival of worship continued to move along the channel which it had previously traversed - that of the improvement of public worship in all its aspects without breaking with the Church's traditional attitude to public worship or introducing practices which were not agreeable to Biblical teaching. In this second phase the Church profited by some of the mistakes committed in the earlier period of innovation.

The REVISED CHURCH HYMNARY (1927) for example, was a corrective to some of the less worthy features of Church music, which the enthusiasm for hymn singing and the sentimental taste of the time had introduced into Church worship. The Church began to evolve something like a church plan of her own in building and adapting churches. This consisted of a nave with or without transepts, with a short or apsidal chancel, with central Holy Table, with seats for Minister and Elders, with a side pulpit, and possibly a/

/a lectern. The Font was usually placed near the Holy Table, at least in view of the congregation.

Very considerable progress had been made in the training<sup>1.</sup> of probationers, since the time when Sprott wrote his lectures. EUCHOLOGION had left its mark upon the worship of the whole Church, and the historical introductions to the various texts published by the Church Service Society, helped to form an attitude among the younger clergy to the history of public worship in the Church of Scotland<sup>which</sup> differed greatly from that prevailing in 1850. Order and beauty of expression, read prayers and symbols were not now condemned out of hand as "aping Episcopacy". The fruits of the revival were seen with particular clarity in the prevailing mode of conducting the sacramental and occasional services, which showed a high level of dignity and of devotional value.

Wallace Williamson exercised a considerable influence upon the Church's public worship in his time. Indeed it was in no small measure due to his leadership that the Church took the most important step of authorising PRAYERS FOR DIVINE SERVICE for use in the public worship of the Church. This was a big step, which could not have been taken without the years of patient teaching and careful preparation which had preceded. It authorised that which had been claimed as a right at the beginning of the revival of worship - the right to read prayers from a book in public worship (although Lee, of course, went further, in asking permission/

1. G. W. Sprott, THE WORSHIP AND OFFICES OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, 1882.

/permission to read from a privately published and unauthorised book). Moreover, it declared the Church's mind on the form of public worship, and commended practice which was both Catholic and Evangelical. It prepared the way for that official output of liturgical texts which was to be a notable feature of the re-united Church of Scotland through the work of its Committee on Public Worship and Aids to Devotion (the publication, for example, in 1931 of the ORDINAL AND SERVICE BOOK FOR THE USE OF PRESBYTERIES early declared the mind of the re-united Church on the form of the Eucharist). It initiated that process whereby the Church declared her mind officially on liturgical practice (despite considerable continuing divergence in the prevailing use and wont throughout the Church), which is of singular importance from the point of view of wider Church union. Sister Churches conferring with the Church of Scotland, and concerned to know the Church's mind on faith and worship, need not be put off by being referred to regulations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which have long ceased to be faithfully observed by the Church. A more up to date norm is at hand.

However, the revival also proved how hard is the task of those who would impose a liturgy upon the Church of Scotland. During the progress of the revival, there were not lacking those who desired to see a liturgy, or at least a partial liturgy introduced. The Church Service Society always disclaimed any such/

/such intentions, yet a circular was sent round its members in 1871 on how best to introduce "the systematic use" of EUCHOLOGION, and considerable chagrin is manifest in the papers of the Society at the time, when it became obvious that EUCHOLOGION would never be taken over officially by the Church as her prayer book.<sup>1.</sup>

The conviction remained in many, probably in most, minds that the "germinal idea of worship propounded by Calvin and his follower Knox had its logical outcome in free prayer."<sup>2.</sup> The bulk of the people were devoted to what Queen Victoria called the "grand simplicity"<sup>3.</sup> of the Communion Service, and desired no enrichment of vestment, ornament or ritual. Condemning Adamson in the Barnhill case, Dr. Archibald Scott said that "scissors and paste prayers" would never adequately express the devotional aspirations of the Church of Scotland.<sup>4.</sup>

Professor Alan Menzies expressed the abiding antipathy to a liturgy rather memorably, when he said in 1908, "It strikes one very forcibly that the task of furnishing the Church of Scotland with a liturgy is scarcely within the compass of human powers. Great Authorities, Reformers, Archbishops and Bishops, both in our Church and in the English Church have tried it. Monarchs tried it. Assemblies of Divines tried it. None of these attempts proved successful. Great mistakes were made which were terrible in/

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1. See C. S. S. Minutes, 1919-26;  
C. S. S. Report, 1871.

2. D. H. Hislop, OUR HERITAGE IN PUBLIC WORSHIP, p. 193.

3. Quoted in N. Maclean, LIFE OF J. CAMERON LEES, p. 381; 4. "Scotsman," 27.5.1902.

~~/in their consequences, and the evils flowing from which were~~  
~~terrible in their consequences,~~ and the evils flowing from which  
 centuries did not suffice to make good. The Scots are not to  
 be driven in matters of worship... The Scots never had a liturgy  
 for which they conceived any abiding affection, or which they  
 regarded as a national heritage... the Scots have always held the  
 theory that a liturgy is unnecessary if the ministry are what they  
 ought to be: that a true ministry are inspired, and that men  
 who can preach the Word can also exercise the gift of free prayer." 1.

Even at the close of our period of study, this type of  
 argument called forth much popular support in the Church. In  
 some congregations at public worship, the prayers were read from  
 a book; in more, they were read from a manuscript prepared by  
 the minister for the occasion; in most they were offered extemp-  
 oraneously. But in some churches both read and free prayers  
 were used.

The influence of religious broadcasting was only beginning  
 to make its influence felt towards the end of our period of  
 study, but it obviously provided a medium through which prejudices  
 as to the conduct of public worship could be broken down, as  
 Presbyterian listeners heard the obviously sincere conduct of  
 worship on liturgical and ritualistic lines by other denominations.  
 It/

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1. C. S. S. Report, 1908, pp. 30 - 31.

/It may be that this medium will eventually play a large part in determining the form of public worship in the normal services of the Church, e.g., briefer sermons, and the Intercessions placed after the sermon.

The revival of worship may be said to have established in the Church acknowledgement that her form of worship is no new thing invented at the Reformation, but is derived from the worship of the Primitive Church - her normal Morning Service being based on the Liturgy of the Word, and as such containing the chief elements of Catholic worship.

It also restored to public worship something of the homely, incarnational side of religion which had been excluded by the Calvinist emphasis on the Glory of God. It may be said to have convinced those within the Church who gave serious thought to the matter, that the ideal form of worship is a combination of liturgical and free prayer. It did much to restore the Reformed ideal of the conjunction of Word and Sacrament in the Church's theory of worship at least, as normally the Word continued to be preached outwith the context of the Eucharist week by week, in defiance of Primitive Christian usage. Much was made by some of the fact ~~that~~ that the Morning Service was based on the first part of the early Christian Liturgy. This seemingly palliated for them the failure of the revival to establish even in one church a weekly Eucharist as the main Sunday Service. There was/

/was now agreement that the Eucharist was meant, even in Calvin's view, to occupy this place, but "practical difficulties" were said to prevent its being effected. There were practical difficulties - such as the training of worshippers to receive Holy Communion frequently, or the obtaining of the consent and co-operation of Kirk Sessions. Yet one wonders if the real difficulty did not lie at a deeper level. One is inclined to ask whether current interpretations of the Sacrament did not preclude its frequent celebration, e.g., the belief that the Sacraments are only symbols attached to the Word, and that nothing is obtained through them, which cannot be received apart from them, and that in the case of the Eucharist, the right stress is on worthy receiving by the communicants, rather than in seeing its celebration as the ideal Christian worship, which in Cooper's words consists "in coming to the Father, presenting and pleading the Sacrifice which Christ offered on the Cross for quick and dead, by offering and consecrating bread and wine to be the Body and Blood given and shed for us, according to the institution and command of our Saviour Christ Himself."<sup>1</sup>

For most within the Church of Scotland the Morning Service which resulted at the end of our period of study was accepted as an adequate form for the expression of the Church's public devotion, and one which had continuity with the worship of the Primitive Church, and affinities with worship of the Catholic Church at all times. They tended to look upon it as complete in itself, even/

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1. J. Cooper, THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN WORSHIP, in The Transactions of the Glasgow Ecclesiological Society, 1895, p. 57.



/even without the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and even when they acknowledged the Reformed ideal that both Word and Sacrament should have a place in the service. The great obstacle to the fulfilment of this ideal was, of course, the problem of non-communicating attendance at the Eucharist. Officially the Church did nothing to state its mind afresh in this matter.

For a smaller group within the Church, the resultant form of worship was incomplete in itself, a form of worship which lacked its natural climax, because it lacked the sacramental element. They rejoiced that its form conformed in type to the Liturgy of the Word, and that, as such, it was a continual reminder to the Church that it was only part of what worship is meant to be in the Catholic Church, and a pointer to the ideal which the Church must yet realise, ere the revival be complete. Recent scholarship has tended to confirm their view.

Cullmann finds no evidence in the earliest Christian worship for the existence of a "Service of the Word" separate and independent from the celebration of the Eucharist. The Lord's Supper<sup>1.</sup> was the basis and goal of every gathering for worship.

During this second phase of the revival of worship the tendency to view prayer and praise, rather than the proclamation of the Word, as the objective part of common worship grew. Prayers must be objective, not subjective. Worship must be common worship, not individualistic. Personal fervour in free prayer, admirable in/

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1. See O. Cullmann, EARLY CHRISTIAN WORSHIP, P. 29.

/in private devotion, must be restrained by an expression which will be adequate and worthy to be "the Church at prayer."

Worship is man's response to God as He has made Himself known in Jesus Christ. The service is not a lecture room, nor is it a religious psycho-analytic clinic where religious experience is publicly paraded.

Formerly, Scots so frequently viewed going to church as going to hear a sermon. They expressed their disappointment, if the preacher did not "give them something to take away," as if they had thereby been cheated of their main objective in attending church. Now the emphasis was placed more on giving, receiving being a consequence of giving. Public worship was seen as an oblation, an offering made to God, in common with others in Heaven and on earth, of all possible praise and thanksgiving, an offering which week by week involved (if it was to be truly offered) the oblation of oneself to God in response to His Love towards sinners.

This meant that the Church of Scotland had come near to declaring afresh her interpretation of the nature of Church worship (at least by her common practice and frequent manner of speech regarding it.)

At the end of our period of study, the services remained essentially "Services of the Word." Great stress was still put on preaching. The Sacraments were subordinate to the Word. The popular/

/popular tests of sincerity and simplicity were still applied to the conduct of public worship. Undue ceremony and excessive symbolism would at once find condemnation as coming between the soul and God, as being in danger of putting mere ritual and form in the place of the "genuine" worship of the spirit, which alone is acceptable to God. But the Church had clarified her own mind as to what public worship should be to a considerable extent. There was much more uniformity in use and wont than there had been since the innovations began, although there were still marked differences in practice. Amid all the possibilities of borrowing from other traditions, the Church had retained her own tradition, enriched and enhanced, still Biblical and Evangelical, but more Catholic and Incarnational.

"The whole act," wrote one who had personally been greatly influenced by the revival, "of worship is a sacrifice which we offer to an objective Presence."<sup>1.</sup>

Thus worshippers were reminded of von Hügel's dictum, "Religion is adoration." The object of worship was seen to be a self-abandonment to Divine Love, which issues in a delight in the Lord and in His laws, rather than instruction in saving truths which will enable the worshippers to make their election and calling sure.

At the close of our period of study, the Church of Scotland, while she did not make her own the sacramental view of worship taught/

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1. O. B. Milligan, THE MINISTRY OF WORSHIP, p. 10.

/taught by John Macleod, Cooper, Wotherspoon, Cromarty Smith and others, made peculiarly her own this idea of worship as an oblation ~~to~~ made to God. In this connection, two points fall to be noted. If worship is a response of the whole man to the whole of God's self revelation in Jesus Christ, then the importance of Revelation and of the work of the Holy Spirit must be borne in mind. Perhaps some of those who have busied themselves with making the Church's worship more "objective" have not always done so. Just how adequate the worshippers' response to God, as He has made Himself known in Christ, will be in public worship, depends on how God is known of the worshippers in the Divine Service. By the power of the Holy Spirit, He can be known through the proclamation of the Word and/or the celebration of the Sacraments. Where the Sacraments are not celebrated, then the natural climax of the service becomes the proclamation of the Word. If the coming of Christ to His worshipping Church in the eucharistic Presence, which was the goal of the Primitive Christian service, is excluded, then the climax of the act of worship is when Christ comes anew to the worshippers in the Word. The rest is response. In order that worshippers may feel that worship has reached this goal, and that Christ has come anew to them, the preaching of the Word must be much more authoritative and objective, much more definite in/

/in its Scriptural doctrine, much more existential a form of utterance than the mild and innocuous "addresses" sometimes associated in the Church with "objective worship," where concern for the forms of worship was not always matched with a jealous custody of Catholic teaching.

Also, amid the denunciation of bad extemporary prayer and the condemnation of services which lacked order and dignity, more might have been said of the essential place of the Holy Spirit in public worship. Obviously, there can be no response to God in worship without the assistance of the Spirit, and the fairest or most ancient and revered forms of prayer can never be prayer at all unless the Spirit helps our "infirmities." There was some confusion between extemporary prayer, which was guided by the Holy Spirit, and mere, unpremeditated, verbal effusion. The revival might have noted with more emphasis the function fulfilled by a devout and faithful parish minister, who is in close touch with the spiritual needs of his people, in leading their common prayers by the power of the Spirit. Such prayers can be truly common prayers, even if they are extemporary, the worshippers being able to join in them as one can join in the cadences of some symphony which one is hearing for the first time, finding that the phrases of the prayer resolve themselves naturally and without jarring, because minister and worshippers have a common Scriptural phrase book, and are led by one Spirit.

The early Church reminds us of the importance of leaving room for the free working of the Holy Spirit in the Divine Service.

The Church of Scotland already owes something of a debt liturgically to the Catholic Apostolic Church. She has not yet learned all that she profitably can learn from the worship of that Church, which in its origin was so closely associated through Edward Irving with her own life. The Liturgy of this Church provides what is possibly the most satisfying form of public worship drawn up in modern times. Dissenting bodies often testify (even if sometimes in an exaggerated manner) to some defect in the faith or practice of the Established Church. It may be that the Church of Scotland can profitably learn more from the Catholic Apostolic ORDER FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST AND FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE COMMUNION ON THE LORD'S DAY, which comes so near to reconstructing Primitive Christian worship, and is so rich as a liturgical form, drawing as it does fully upon eastern and western sources. It lacks nothing in order and solemnity, yet it emphasises the part played by Revelation in worship. Here the worshipper can express his devotion through the use of time-hallowed forms, yet the waiting upon the Holy Spirit preserves a freedom and immediacy in the worship. The worship is Catholic and Evangelical. It is based upon Scripture, yet it has drawn eclectically upon the/

/the stores of Catholic devotion.

The Church of Scotland has yet to consider seriously the decline in attendance at public worship, which was a marked feature of the last years of our period of study, in the light of H. J. Wotherspoon's opinion that the absence of Communion and Cultus are the specific maladies of modern Christianity.<sup>1</sup> In worship the soul seeks not dogmas about God, but God Himself. It will not be put off with talk or thought about God. The soul seeks to have communion with God in worship. By Divine appointment this is supremely possible in sacramental worship, where, because the Church appears only in stewardship and the Ministry only in obedience, the soul and God meet face to face. It is essential to remember that the Church is called first to worship, and only after that to witness in the world to the Kingdom of God. It matters little what we in our time plan to do for Christ, if we are refusing to allow Him to act through us by a diligent use of His Ordinances, by declining to adhere to the mode of worship which He has appointed. For the Eucharist, celebrated in faith and obedience, is our great access to the Father, our strongest bond binding us as believers to one another, and the sanctification of all life.

With characteristic insight, John Macleod protested that "the people are in many places forsaking their attendance on sermons. But they can scarcely be said to be forsaking Divine Worship, for in the highest sense of the term, the Divine Worship is/

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1. See H. J. Wotherspoon, RELIGIOUS VALUES IN THE SACRAMENTS, p. 294.

/is not provided for them." <sup>1.</sup>

And when, with that fearless resolution, which a perfect faith in God's purpose and an unswerving obedience to His Will alone can inspire, the Church, true to her traditions, searches the Word of God, as the only rule of faith and worship, she will find there not many injunctions regarding public worship, but supremely and inescapably one:

"THIS DO IN REMEMBRANCE OF ME."

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1. J. Macleod, THE CELEBRATION OF THE HOLY COMMUNION AND THE DAILY SERVICE, p. 139.



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 C.S.S. : Church ~~of~~ Service Society  
 F.C. : Free Church  
 Lond. : London  
 S.C.S. : Scottish Church Society  
 U.F. : United Free

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